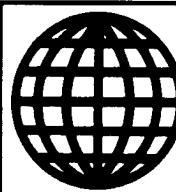


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18 NOVEMBER 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-053

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**Zaykov Speech at 24 September Moscow Gorkom Plenum**

18000047a Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 pp 1-3

[Speech by L.N. Zaykov: "For the Revolutionary Renewal—the Potential of Popular Power"]

[Text] Comrades: A question stemming directly from decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on intensifying the restructuring, reforming the political system and further democratizing the party and the society has been submitted for consideration by a plenum of the city party committee. It has to do with how to achieve complete power for the soviets of people's deputies and to reorganize the management of local affairs based on the principles of self-government and self-financing. We have a precisely defined course for accomplishing this eminently important and eminently complex job. It is the course outlined at the April CC Plenum and the 27th party congress, and adjusted at the All-Union party conference.

The party is intensifying the process of revolutionary restructuring with growing vigor, making it irreversible. The July 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee defined a program of practical action for party, state and public organizations for the broad and complete realization of the aims set forth at the conference.

Afterwards the participants, including many of those present here, met with people in the labor collectives. And they all had the feeling that the people are demanding unity of our words and deeds, specific and real moves in the restructuring, and not just sworn assurances.

As the political vanguard, the party does not have the right to be slow. If the party and its cadres delay, the restructuring merely spins its wheels, but where the party organizations act with vigor, things proceed successfully.

The concepts of the restructuring, democratization and glasnost have fundamentally altered the ideological and political atmosphere in the nation and in the capital. The process of improving the economy has begun. Rates of scientific and technological progress in the national economy have accelerated. The new methods of management are gaining momentum. The social orientation of our plans is being intensified.

Comrades, all of us would like the positive processes to proceed far more rapidly, of course, would like for the people to experience an immediate improvement in their standard of living. Constantly uncovering new layers of accumulated problems, however, the restructuring is proceeding with far greater difficulty and far more slowly than we anticipated.

It should be frankly stated that the sense of responsibility of the leading cadres has not increased, and demandfulness has slackened in some places. Bureaucracy is being

eliminated with difficulty. The attitude toward labor has not changed in many collectives, and a mentality of dependency has become firmly established. Discipline and order need to be decisively strengthened at all levels. Without organization, M.S. Gorbachev stressed in a speech in Krasnoyarsk, the restructuring will not go forward.

It is extremely important right now to vigorously reform the political system with a view to eliminating the distortions of the past, to restore the Leninist principles and praxis of socialist popular power, bolster legality, law and order, and provide firm guarantees that arbitrary rule, subjectivism, stagnation and the cult of the personality will not be permitted in the future.

And the delineation of the functions of party and soviet organs is the key requirement. The party must relieve itself of direct control of production affairs. We must get complete power for the soviets of people's deputies as the foundation of the socialist state system and self-government for the workers, strengthen the legislative, administrative and monitoring functions of the soviets in every possible way and restore the guiding status of elective agencies with respect to the executive body.

At the initiative of the party gorkom a new general plan for managing Moscow's economy, based on these requirements, has been compiled and approved by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. Remember that it was worked out with broad participation of the city's party and soviet aktiv, specialists and the public, and was approved at a session of the Moscow Soviet.

The new plan calls for a drastic restructuring of the city and rayon management bodies and a dual structure, and establishes the prerequisites for converting to primarily economic management methods. The basic production component—the associations and enterprises—is being reinforced, management relations are being simplified, parallel and duplicate functions are being eliminated, and the management system is being reduced and made less expensive. A significant part of the administrative functions are being shifted downward.

Most of the branch main administrations and administrations of the Moscow Gorispolkom are being turned into functionally branch agencies. A total of 28 consolidated production, scientific production, construction planning and industrial planning associations are being set up under them, which will become the main management component. They are being converted to economic accountability and self-financing. The integration of production and science is being increased. Seven large complexes have been set up in the city's economy. I repeat, these include construction and architecture; an agroindustrial complex; trade, personal service and paid services; the operation of buildings and installations; transportation, communication and the development of public services and amenities; social development; and a science and industry complex.

What is particularly important is that the new general plan makes it possible actually to increase the responsibility of the ispolkoms of rayon soviets of people's deputies for ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of territories within their jurisdiction. The functions of the rayon ispolkoms are being enlarged with respect to overseeing enterprises and organizations of the rayon economy. A number of enterprises and associations previously under city jurisdiction are being placed under the rayon executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies.

I want especially to stress the fact that the expanding of the authority of the rayon soviets and their conversion to economic accountability should in no way entail localistic trends. We shall resolutely stop attempts to resolve rayon problems at the expense of city interests. The principle of democratic centralism must and shall be scrupulously observed in the new situation. The general plan has been approved and is taking effect. In order for it to become fully effective, however, and produce perceptible improvements in all areas of the city's economy, all of the Communists in charge of specific areas of the work, all of the party organizations, the committees and main administrations must resolutely adopt the new style of operating, which rules out lack of obligation and inefficiency, and indifference toward the rights and needs of the people.

The matters of stepping up control over the activities of the apparatus and verifying performance both on the part of the city and rayon soviets, their standing commissions and the deputies, and on the part of the workers themselves, public organizations and people's control agencies are moving to the fore. This will make it possible, by relying on the conference resolution "Combatting Bureaucracy," to prevent relapses into past ways, when many good decisions drowned in blather or were suppressed by individual officials in the administrative system in their own personal interest.

Also directed toward this are decisions coming out of the party conference on the restoration of the power of the soviets in its Leninist meaning in order to truly involve millions of people in the running of all the socialist society's affairs. Right now relations between the elective and executive agencies are upside down, so to speak. The ispolkoms are over and frequently make all of the decisions for the soviets. It should be the other way around. It is therefore planned to forbid the election of members of the ispolkoms or those in charge of its departments, administrations and services as deputies to the corresponding soviets. In order to enhance the role of the soviets and ensure that they function as agencies of popular power, the chairmen of the soviets will be elected and the presidiums formed by secret ballot at sessions following regular elections in the fall of next year.

The 19th party conference advocated that the first secretary of the party committee ordinarily be recommended as chairman of the corresponding soviet. Up to now a party leader has traditionally been a member of the ispolkom. This results in increased interference by the party committees in the powers of the executive agency and its administrative apparatus, and diminishes the role of the soviet and the deputies themselves.

If the first secretary of the party committee has the support of the electors and heads the soviet, he will bear greater responsibility for the efficient performance of the soviet itself, of the standing commissions and deputy groups. The combining of the positions will thus serve to enhance the role and prestige of the agencies of popular power.

The separation of the functions of party and state organs, the enhancement of the role of the soviets at all levels and the improvement of the administrative structure for the city's economy should be felt by the Muscovites not just in the organizational sense—a changing of signs and a shifting of the people in charge from one chair to another—but primarily in an improved food supply, the accelerated resolution of housing problems and saturation of the market with various goods and services.

We know that these three objectives were specified at the conference and the July Plenum of the Central Committee as urgent tasks. What is the first thing we must do?

Let me begin with the food problem. It is the most urgent problem we have, one which defines the state of the city's entire social and economic system. When the out-of-town buyers are considered, and they account for 20-30 percent of the purchases of many food items, reasonable consumption norms have not been reached in Moscow.

The Muscovites express justifiable dissatisfaction with the trade situation. They ask with good cause, for example, how long an enormous quantity of fruits and vegetables are to be knowingly doomed to destruction, so to speak, due to poor storage. More than 230,000 tons of spoiled fruits, potatoes and other vegetables were sent off to be used as livestock feed during the first half of this year alone. Think about that, comrades. The suppliers must accept part of the blame, but the root of the evil lies primarily in the poor organization of labor and production at the fruit and vegetable bases.

Take just the Moskvoretskiy Fruit and Vegetable Association as an example. For years all of the most urgent matters were decided for the director of that association by workers from the party raykom or gorkom. At the

height of the packing season at the bases, they were the ones who for weeks on end oversaw the unloading of the cars, pestered the suppliers and hustled up the transportation.

Is this really the way the party should influence the results of the economic operations? Unfortunately, this unsuitable work style is typical of many other enterprises of the Moscow Administration of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry.

You are aware that the buro of the party gorkom recently discussed the unsatisfactory supply of fruits and vegetables for the Muscovites. Cases of glaring irresponsibility and criminal negligence were uncovered on the part of many officials in the Moscow City Agroindustrial Complex. The record of the meeting was published in the press, and it enables me to discuss this matter in detail. I just want to stress the fact that the lessons and conclusions derived at the buro meeting must be accepted not just by workers in the fruit and vegetable associations but, most importantly, by the party and soviet organs.

This is all the more important since right now is the main season for laying in potatoes and other vegetables for the winter. More than 800,000 tons of potatoes and over 1.1 million tons of other vegetables must be hauled in. While it is still possible in the summer and early fall partially to make up the losses caused by laxity, when winter arrives only that which is at the bases will be available in the Moscow stores. Despite the enormous volume involved at what I would call the "peak" in this work, no one has the right to use as an excuse the objective difficulties which have become commonplace.

The city party committee will continue to rigidify its demandingness of managers responsible for this area of the work. Incidentally, following the reorganization of the party apparatus, monitoring the implementation of decisions adopted will become the most important job of gorkom and raykom workers. In addition to all of their other functional duties, of course.

And it is time, by the way, for everyone to understand that assistance during the stockpiling season consists not in the emergency enlistment of blue- and white-collar workers from Moscow enterprises and organizations to work at the bases, which have been converted to economic accountability and for which practically all of the organizational and technical matters have been worked out: wages have been raised and social conditions improved. The assistance will involve primarily the development of mechanization and automation, the introduction of advanced storage technology and the selection of cadres.

A lack of strict party demandingness has led to the present situation, in which all of the assistance provided the vegetable associations amounts to imposing "an obligation" upon the labor collectives. How could it happen that in the Oktyabrskiy Rayon party committee

leading scientists from three institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences spend weeks working as truck drivers and sorters at a branch of that rayon's Base No. 4? And it would be difficult to expect the situation to change, when the base director can state with amazing conviction: "What is wrong with that? I had Academician Vlasov, holder of a Nobel Prize, working here. In the USA, by the way, scientists also work in the fields under a system of 'two sacks of vegetables for the boss, one to keep.'"

If we continue to use our rich scientific potential in this way, we will get nowhere. The efforts of the scientists need to be focused on the mechanization of manual labor, and they need to be involved in the development of special equipment which will make it possible to eliminate practically all losses of fruit and vegetables and to determine what kind of vegetables will keep for long periods of time in storage and which ones need to be promptly sold. We also need modern machinery sensitive to the produce quality for grading potatoes and other vegetables. This would be a greater benefit from the scientists with their considerable wages.

Finally, we need to establish order with respect to enlisting blue- and white-collar workers and students to work at the bases. The procedure we have established is not followed everywhere. People are to be enlisted to work at the bases only under contractual terms, whereby they are paid for the amount of work they actually do. The corresponding Gosploodoovoshcheprom has received a wage fund specifically for this.

This procedure needs to be more firmly established also in the system for providing agriculture with assistance through sponsorship during the harvest. For the time being, unfortunately, we have been forced to send city residents to the fields, and there is not enough of the needed equipment. The harvest must not be wasted, however! Particularly since the crops were raised also for us.

After studying the causes of the unsatisfactory supply of potatoes and other vegetables for the Muscovites, the gorkom buro charged the Mosgoragroprom with establishing a single administrative system for the city's fruit and vegetable conveyor, from field to store shelf, in the results of which those who raise, procure and sell the produce would have a mutual economic interest.

Seriously retarding things at the present time is the fact that Moscow and Moscow Oblast are regarded not as a single complex with respect to supply, but as two independent structures, with separate allocations of resources, separate materials and equipment bases and trade systems, which have developed over a period of decades. As a result, 30 percent of the fruit and vegetables arriving in Moscow are then hauled out of the city again to the oblast population. This naturally creates pressure with respect to providing produce and drastically increases the load on the city's trade system.

We propose supplying both Moscow and the oblast according to unified quotas, not by reducing the stocks allocated for Moscow but by increasing the amount allocated for Moscow Oblast.

A study of the situation and experience acquired in a number of the nation's regions and in other socialist states permits us to conclude that we must switch to a system of agroindustrial combines in Moscow Oblast responsible for storing produce and delivering it to stores in all of the city's 33 rayons. We now have experience also in this area. Therein, in our opinion, lie prospects for the comprehensive resolution of problems, prospects which have long been ripe—or more accurately, overripe.

A number of large, specialized suppliers from other areas of the nation could be assigned to the agroindustrial combines, based on the sequence of maturation of the produce on their farms. The city's storage bases could be turned over to them entirely. Their technical equipment and staffing would still be assigned to Moscow, of course. This would make it possible to provide Moscow and the oblast with an uninterrupted supply of fruits and vegetables. In order to fully supply all of Moscow's rayons, all of the stocks arriving for the capital, both out of the general Union stocks and in the form of imports, would have to be sent to the agroindustrial combines.

I want to inform the plenum that Moscow will already begin receiving vegetables from hothouses of the joint Bulgarian-Soviet Bulgarsovovosch Association this fall and winter. Moscow is to receive more than 20,000 tons of tomatoes and other vegetables between November and June.

If the produce delivered to Moscow in refrigerated cars does not go directly to the store shelves but is held up and rots at some base, Comrade Communists Yu.M. Luzhkov and O.A. Virichev, along with those directly to blame, will be held accountable not only by the party but also with the full severity of the law.

The vicious circle in the existing outlay system for the procurement and sales of fruit and vegetables can be broken if the disarray in trade is eliminated very rapidly. The city's Main Trade Administration (Comrade V.A. Karnaukhov) has still not succeeded in overcoming negative trends in the provision of Muscovites with essential consumer goods.

People speak with indignation of the idleness and irresponsibility of those in charge of the trade and consumer services. These matters were brought up with great urgency before the city authorities during various activities on City Day. There was a meager assortment and cold indifference toward the customers reigned even on that day at Grocery Store No. 30 on Gorkiy Street, for example, right under the windows of the Moscow City Soviet.

Someone is apparently benefiting from the endless disruptions in trade. Now salt or soap disappears from the stores, surprising the trade management, now there are no meat or dairy products for sale, even though funds for them are systematically left untouched.

In the situation of confusion and irritability, the swindlers are once again showing their audacity. Many of you probably saw the television program "Good Evening, Moscow!" which showed the outrageous things going on in the snackbars at the Rossiya theater: the counters are completely bare, while the storage rooms contain several kinds of sausage, cans of caviar, and fish. And this is just a step away from 38 Petrovka.

The city's party organs will not permit the Muscovites to be ridiculed (there is no other word for it) by those who have their hand in the state till, who brazenly, almost openly, bootleg sugar, oil and meat. Trade, food and baked goods enterprises sell tons of rigidly allocated raw materials—nuts, coffee, chocolate and so forth—to the cooperatives, which then unashamedly jack up the prices. The soviet and law enforcement agencies seem to have accepted their own complete helplessness to change the situation and establish order in trade and public dining.

One can not assign a policeman to every clerk, of course, but neither has anyone given those directly responsible for enforcing the Soviet trade regulations the right to limit themselves to halfway measures. And the job is not one of trying to catch trade workers doing petty things, as we frequently do, but to root out the practice of taking care of one another, which is eating up the system.

In the past violators of the trade regulations were scared to death of the militant workers' control. Its resurrection is the immediate task of trade union organizations. Its universal resurrection—in the trade system, in public dining and in other areas of the city's life. The Komsomol and the deputy corps must take more vigorous action in this area.

Almost 40,000 Communists work in the city's trade system, public dining, consumer services and its fruit and vegetable operation. Each of these main administrations has party committees and party buros. What is their role? What party influence are they supposed to exert? Are they actually only to investigate personal cases of various abuses and crimes? And they reviewed more than a thousand such cases during a six-month period. This question should be addressed also to the party raykoms.

The plenum demands that the party committees thoroughly investigate a situation which is frankly a disgrace to the capital and report on steps taken to the city party committee no later than January of next year.

Glasnost and democracy need to be developed in trade and public dining perhaps more than anywhere else. Literally the entire population needs to be roused for a struggle to build a good reputation for the capital's trade system. We will not achieve order without involving the people in this extremely important matter.

This needs to be pointed out also because the cooperative movement is gaining force. The establishment of cooperatives and the development of individual labor endeavors has made it possible to enlarge somewhat the range of services and goods offered the population. However, we cannot fail to see that the cooperation does not always take the course needed by the Muscovites.

It is perfectly apparent that the amount of income received and wages paid in the cooperatives do not always correspond to the quantity and quality of the work performed. Price setting in the cooperatives and their sources of raw materials and foodstuffs are still outside of state control, however, which enables unscrupulous people to conceal their real incomes. The Muscovites are severely criticizing the party and soviet organs for their ineffective campaign against brazen scroungers and all those who skim off the best of everything.

It should be born in mind, of course, that we do not have experience in working with cooperatives, nor is there a service capable of thoroughly monitoring their activities. And these things have to be resolved. The ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet should prepare and submit to the government a suggestion for creating out of the finance, law enforcement and monitoring agencies a single specialized organization for establishing and maintaining order in this new area of restructuring.

When the ispolkoms of rayon soviets register new cooperatives they must carefully study the sources of their work force and halt attempts to lure highly skilled specialists away from state enterprises. That is one thing. Now a second. There is an increasing number of cases in which cooperatives are assigned premises from state public dining and consumer service enterprises. It is simpler, of course, to cite their low profitability than to perform focused work to increase it. The subdivision for working with cooperatives, newly established in the Moscow Soviet's ispolkom, should, while concerning itself with expanding the cooperative movement, first of all focus its efforts on studying the trends and enlist science for calculating the substantiated needs for the given service for the population in each rayon and in the city as a whole.

I particularly want to discuss the lines, such a disgrace to our capital. You will recall, of course, the acrimony with which M.S. Gorbachev spoke of them at the July plenum.

Unfortunately, lines form here not just for the notorious scarce goods, but ordinarily where the operation is poorly organized. A great deal of time is wasted standing

in line for train and airline tickets, in laundries and dry cleaning shops. What an ordeal the people have to go through because of the inconvenient operating hours of trade, service, public dining and health care facilities. These problems must be worked out promptly and effectively right in the rayon. There is great disorder in the social security agencies, which are designed to protect the people's interests. This disgrace can be ended in Moscow not just by increasing consumer goods production but, first and foremost, by improving the organization of trade and services and increasing the responsibility of the workers in this extremely important area.

The city's image is particularly deformed—it can be called nothing else—by the lines at liquor stores. People not only waste time there but sometimes also lose their human image.

No one can retreat a single step in the campaign against alcohol abuse and alcoholism. On the contrary, it must be rigidified and made more effective, particularly against those who are once again trying to drink on the job, in public places and on the street, and against those who let alcohol affect their personal lives. However, we can also not permit excesses which discredit a humane objective.

A bureaucrat is a terrible thing in that he operates according to the principle "do everything possible to please the bosses," while being profoundly indifferent when it comes to ordinary people. It is easier to conduct the battle by banning vodka but not combatting alcohol abuse than it is to find solutions to the problems specified in the national program for combatting alcohol abuse and alcoholism.

Three years ago the government adopted a decision on the establishment of an All-Union drug and alcohol abuse research center in Moscow. The ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet has not yet been able to find a suitable building for it, however, even though everyone understands the need for an institution designed to study the causes of and work out specific recommendations for treating this extremely serious disease.

Nor is the situation any better with respect to the fulfillment of decisions passed by the party gorkom for overcoming alcohol abuse and alcoholism. The buro and the secretariat have passed 13 resolutions just since 1985. Little has come of this, however. We should define measures to rectify existing distortions, while at the same time requiring all of the party, soviet and law enforcement agencies and management officials to step up the campaign against this negative occurrence.

Comrades:

The new General Plan for the Management of Moscow's Economy takes into full account the social reorientation of our economy.

We know that by way of fulfilling conference decisions the USSR Council of Ministers has passed a number of decrees to accelerate the improvement of light industry. Comprehensive reconstruction of more than 70 enterprises and the construction of new factories completely outfitted with imported equipment and ready to operate are planned in the capital.

There are still major deficiencies in the performance of the consumer goods industry, however. The plan is being fulfilled by most of the enterprises with respect to value of output, but the shortage and the difference between the goods available and the population's purchasing power are increasing. Many large machine-building enterprises have committed themselves to produce only the very simplest of items and are not satisfactorily resolving problems pertaining to the construction of specialized capacities for setting up the production of the modern, technically complex items which are in particularly great demand.

Our city has a permanent exhibition of consumer goods produced at Moscow enterprises of all the branches of industry in the national economy. Its purpose is to demonstrate both the best models and those which do not measure up to modern demands. Unfortunately, there are many of the latter. The Main Administration for Coordinating Branch Industry and Consumer Goods Production has now been set up in the scientific and industrial complex of the Moscow Soviet's ispolkom. It is designed to organize and monitor the production of consumer goods, based on market conditions and consumer demand. This agency is vested with great authority. Its decisions are binding for the managers of all enterprises within Moscow. It is just a matter of putting this authority into action in order to rapidly saturate the market with diverse, high-quality goods. Party support will be forthcoming.

Today we must state our position most definitely about the situation with respect to the prices of certain types of goods and services. There has recently been a perceptible increase in prices. The inexpensive items are being dropped from the list, particularly items for children and the elderly. Tickets to many theaters, to concerts and other entertainment have become more expensive.

This process has affected physical and sports organizations to the greatest degree. Their conversion to economic accountability has been regarded in City Sports Committee (Comrade A.M. Kovalev) almost as a license to raise prices for all of the services provided and not as a means of expanding the services themselves and involving a larger portion of the population in physical culture and health improvement activities, particularly in the neighborhoods.

Nor have the price increases missed the economically accountable medical establishments. The prices of many types of stomatological treatment have doubled or tripled. Why is this happening? We know that light industry

has been assigned intensive targets for profits and shipments sold, in retail prices, and the enterprises themselves have been authorized to set temporary retail prices with a markup of up to 30 percent for new items, as well as contractual prices for especially fashionable items and experimental lots of goods. The portion accounted for by these goods is gradually increasing, even though the new items differ in no way from similar products sold without the markups.

An increase in the production of expensive goods does not always indicate improvement in quality. The Salyut and Vympel garment associations, for example, have switched to the production of coats at contractual prices of 450-600 rubles, 650 rubles or more for certain styles.

The RSFSR Ministry of Trade and the Moscow City Ispolkom did not see to it that there were inexpensive coats for sale, if only by providing them from other regions. Because of this there are practically no women's winter coats for sale for less than 300 rubles in Moscow. But we have to see to it that all groups of the population are provided for, particularly the pensioners.

Many enterprises and ministries view increased prices for products and services as the simplest way to increase profits and economic incentive funds. This is the wrong way, a dangerous one, however.

The party raykoms and party committees of absolutely all the enterprises producing consumer goods or providing services for the population are charged with assuming strict control over the makeup of the production plan for the years ahead.

The plenum of the Moscow city committee has the right to demand of both the leaders and their party committees that they take urgent steps to establish order in pricing.

First of all, it is essential in state orders to specify output volumes for inexpensive items, while establishing special norms advantageous to the enterprises for settling with the budget, thereby encouraging the production of these important products.

The ispolkoms of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets must strictly monitor the price level, particularly in the cooperatives. There is just one criterion: the prices must conform to the quality of the products and the amount of labor required to produce them. A special agency for protecting the consumer's interests must be established also under the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions.

Now for the housing program. Today every 6th Muscovite needs a better apartment. We have succeeded in overcoming the negative trend of an annual drop in volumes of social, cultural and consumer service construction.

## PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Even the complete achievement of the targets set for the current five-year period will not meet the rapid growth of the need for housing, however. In order to provide every Moscow family with a separate, comfortable apartment, the housing pool will have to be increased by a third, with almost 50 million square meters of housing completed for occupancy during the 12th through 14th five-year periods. In addition, we are going to have to remodel housing in the central part of the city and a number of blocks of five-story buildings, and increase the rate and volume of comprehensive capital repairs on apartment buildings and the construction of facilities for the social infrastructure.

In order to carry out such an intensive program it will be necessary first of all to develop the construction industry's capacities, to develop the industry at outstripping rates, drastically increase the production of construction materials and eliminate the shortage of modern equipment for the builders.

The existing system of management of the construction industry has had major deficiencies, however. Narrow specialization in the work has gradually increased in the main construction administrations. Their operations have become increasingly dissociated as a result. The construction industry's materials and equipment base has not been developed in a comprehensive manner and has become departmentalized, and the continuity of the production process has been disrupted.

This was bound to have a negative effect upon construction quality and time periods, particularly in the case of housing. In many cases the erection of apartment buildings, social, cultural and personal service facilities outstripped the installation of utility lines.

The Moscow Construction Combine, one of the central components in the General Plan for Management of the Capital's Economy was established precisely for the purpose of improving management of the construction complex. Decisions of the Mosstroykomitet pertaining to the territory of Moscow and within its jurisdiction are binding for all the construction organizations, regardless of their departmental subordination.

The committee is charged with Moscow's general construction development. It is expected to conduct a unified investment policy and is responsible for overall construction. Mosstroykomitet's organizational structure will eliminate the intermediate administrative elements, raise the level of production concentration, consolidate the existing trusts, organizations and enterprises, and introduce economic accountability in construction.

The committee needs to get on its feet as soon as possible and get the organizing over with. The accomplishment of the extremely important social task of providing every family with a separate apartment by the year 2000 will depend upon this. The new General Management Plan particularly boosts the role of the Moscow Soviet's

planning commission, primarily in the shaping of the General Plan for the Development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast to the year 2010.

It is the planning commission and the Main Administration for Moscow's Architectural Development which must set the tone in such matters as investment policy, the distribution of housing and industrial construction, and the coordination of branch-territorial interests. The following example indicates the enormous unutilized reserves there are in each of these areas.

If we could plan new construction to take into account the job location, many personal, trade and transport service problems would be resolved. At the present time, unfortunately, the distribution of housing is a haphazard thing, and as a result the migration pendulum swings with ever greater amplitude, exacerbating an already difficult situation not just in housing and trade but also with respect to transportation.

We somehow forget that the way to reduce pressure on the city routes, including bringing the people's housing nearer to their jobs, lies in eliminating the need to travel for every little thing to the center of the enormous city. Who would want to make an extra loop if his housing area had its own theater-and-studio, a physical culture and health complex, an extensive system of creative clubs and sections, workshops, video stores, and a great deal more? And the rayon soviets have the funds and the capability to build these things, with concerned participation by enterprises and the Muscovites themselves?

One of the significant advantages of the new General Plan lies in the fact that it makes it possible to resolve problems at the "junctures" of branch interests. There are many such "junctures" in the municipal economy. They involve primarily ecology, the provision of services and amenities, public education, and finally, the level of medical service at enterprises and in the community.

The materials and equipment base for our health care obviously did not end up in such a sad state by accident, and it is an accurate indicator of the city's social health. In addition, letters from the workers and from the population in general bear witness not only to the inefficient health care process but also to outrageous cases of indifference to patients, bribe-taking and extortion.

The leaders in this area must work a lot harder. This means using all internal reserves (and they are considerable) for repairing and technically reconstructing existing health centers and hospitals, modernizing out-patient clinics and health stations at city enterprises, and accelerating the completion of new health facilities.

The Main Health Administration of the Moscow Gorispolkom (Comrade V.N. Mudrak) needs to intensify the work of medical personnel, be bolder in switching to treatment forms and methods used in advanced clinics

of the city and the nation, and make a maximum effort to see that Muscovites, who have heard many promises in the past about improving the health care system, can see that changes are being made. Particularly since a special decree pertaining to the entire nation has been passed on this matter by the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. A draft decree has been prepared for the reconstruction and technical reequipment of Moscow's health facilities and for new construction, as well as for improving wages for health care workers. It was approved literally yesterday by the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Urgent tasks pertaining to further improving the ecological situation in the city merge closely with plans for improving health care.

Right now, the responsibility of the rayispolkoms and their services for the sanitation of enterprises, streets and apartment buildings is increasing greatly along with the transfer of complete authority "downward." Compromises are inadmissible in this matter. We must ensure the absolute meeting of targets set for removing ecologically harmful production operations outside the city and rigidly monitor purification facilities to see that they are placed into operation in good time and are operated reliably. And naturally, we must concern ourselves with the provision of services and utilities and the landscaping of our residential areas, and develop in the Muscovites and visitors to the city an inner need always to maintain cleanliness and order.

Comrade A.S. Matrosov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, and those in charge of the services under him need to do this not just occasionally, not just before holidays or prior to the arrival of important guests, but on a daily basis. And not the way they tried to do it in Dzerzhinskiy Rayon, where they wanted to lay out a square right on asphalt. There is one more problem, which thoroughly sticks in the craw of everyone. Our neglect of the ecology in the city and our lack of sophistication in matters of democracy have merged in it. I refer to the Bitsa Woods and the public squabbles which have developed around it.

I shall refresh your memories about what has occurred there. A decision to build a zoo in Bitsa was adopted back in 1975. At that time housing construction was only getting started around the woods. From that standpoint the site chosen for the zoo was probably acceptable.

Time passed, however. The compiling of the plans and estimate documents and the search for contractors dragged on. The situation has fundamentally changed in 13 years. New construction projects sprang up around Bitsa, and hundreds of thousands of people now live there. Their opinion obviously must be considered. We cannot keep talking about relocating the old Moscow Zoo, however. The Moscow Gorispolkom has to make a decision on this matter and inform the Muscovites within a two-week period.

Finally, the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet must settle the situation with Moscow's higher and secondary specialized schools, based on decisions coming out of the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and also the gorkom plenum. In the new administrative structure these extremely important components of public education were left ownerless, as it were. It is time to dot all of the "i's" in the inadmissibly "suspended" matter of establishing a city public education committee.

All of the problems discussed here are acute ones and cannot be put off. We are now acquiring a scientifically based tool for resolving them, the Progress-95 comprehensive branch-territorial program, which organically coordinates all of the plans previously worked out for developing and intensifying the separate branches of industry, city management and the personal service area.

The fact that this program was not "handed down" to the Muscovites "from above" but is the sum total of interrelated proposals made by the city's labor collectives and rayons assures the viability of this program. An automatic system for monitoring the fulfillment of all the program's constituents in the prescribed sequence was specified in the development stage.

The fact that the Progress-95 program calls for the staged resolution of the city's problems, beginning as early as next year, is of fundamental importance. Another distinctive feature of the program is the fact that it is a component of the technical and economic basis for the new General Plan for the Development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast to the Year 2010. It must be an integral part of the plan now being worked out for the 13th five-year period, coordinating branch-territorial interests. Today, when the rayon level has been granted the broadest of authority in management, it is essential for the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets to have a sense of total responsibility for the implementation of everything specified in the Progress-95 program for their territories.

This is all the more important since Moscow is switching to economic accountability and self-financing as of January 1989. Management in all of the city's rayons must clearly be based on these principles.

The Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet have proposed an experiment in the city and its rayons for making up Moscow's budget from the existing main sources of funds and based on stable, long-term norms. Such an experiment has received the support of Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance. The adoption of the new system for forming the local budget will make it possible to enlarge the economic independence of the city and rayon soviets and to give them a greater interest in the end results of the operations of enterprises and organizations.

Nonetheless, the independence and self-governing status of the rayons will not advance far unless we finally get the new economic system operating at full force at the enterprises themselves. And this means that we need to proceed more boldly with the adoption of the progressive management methods.

There are some good examples of this. The Buro of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU has given its support for a proposal by the party organization and management leaders of the Kvant scientific production association for creating an interbranch state association. This new way of organizing production and management decisively breaks down departmental barriers, and this means that it perceptibly accelerates real scientific and technological progress, especially at the junctures between the branches. The latter have been a "dead zone" for too long. The good experiment has undergone further development: the establishment of yet another interbranch state association around the Antikor MNTK has been approved. Both of the new associations were born of initiative from below. With respect to the other MNTKs, it will be possible to overcome the narrowly departmental interests of each of their organizations, including the head organizations, only if the complexes are removed from departmental jurisdiction and are given complete independence (after the example of the Antikor MNTK).

The adoption of the new management system requires constant, systematic work on the part of soviet organs and enterprise leaders, and strict party control. Our greatest problem, left over from the times of stagnation, is the absence of proper organizational work to implement the decisions adopted.

Is this not why, for example, the switch to the two- or three-shift operation is encountering such difficulty, even though a government decree is already in effect calling for greater benefits for those who work evenings and nights. The efficiency factor for the metal-working equipment has increased by only three one-hundredths in a year.

What is causing this? It is caused by the fact that neither the party raykom nor the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets, nor the party gorkom or the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet, nor the ministries, have essentially done anything to remove the obsolete equipment from the enterprises and establish the necessary conditions and personal conveniences for the second and third shifts. This is despite the fact that vast plans were compiled at all of the enterprises for improving the use of the highly efficient equipment. Here is another example. The structure of the ministries' administrative bodies has been reorganized and their size cut by almost 30 percent, 40 percent for some of them. There should have been a resulting substantial reduction also in the size of the administrative premises, maintenance outlays and the cost of electricity and heat.

A year has gone by, but the Moscow Soviet has received only one tenth of the space which was supposed to be turned over to it. I would add that in the Garden Belt alone we have to clear 4,000 buildings of all kinds of offices which have literally filled up the first floors of buildings in the center of the city. Many of the public dining, trade and personal service enterprises on which we were counting have not opened in the city as a result.

I feel that the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets, together with the party organs, must immediately compile a rigid schedule for moving those offices, inform the owners of the deadlines and see to it that they are met. We have no other solution. I hope that the plenum will support this proposal. The ministries, jointly with the gorkom departments, have designated the workers charged with putting the Moscow enterprises into order. Proper demandingness has not been forthcoming, however, and consequently there have been no changes in the handling of the needs and concerns of Moscow enterprises by the ministry leaders.

It would be proper for the plenum resolution to instruct the gorkom buro to check on this matter by hearing reports from a number of party committees and Communists in charge in the ministries. The party raykoms must make the same kind of analysis. Problems having to do with the technical reequipment of the city's enterprises are moving to the fore also because we have in effect a decision on reducing the number of outside workers hired at Moscow enterprises. We cannot alter this decision, because the interests of the Moscow residents would suffer as a result. The way to rectify the situation, I repeat, lies in the accelerated modernization of industry, sensible job placement for the blue- and white-collar workers laid off when ecologically harmful enterprises and those in inappropriate fields are removed from Moscow, the elimination of all sorts of offices and the reduction of the administrative apparatus.

The establishment of the new management system is making it more important to make fuller use of the city's extensive scientific capability. There are a great many problems in whose resolution science must play first fiddle—from the computerization of all production processes to ecology.

The scientific institutions are presently converting to economic accountability, which will reveal "who is who." Who is performing creatively, whose projects are finding application in the national economy and who is unproductive in the scientific sense. And the party raykoms need to take a principled position in this matter and not permit the ministries and departments to rescue such institutes from their logical end.

At the All-Union Scientific Research and Technological Planning Institute of the Economics of Administrative Systems, Land Reclamation and Water Management, only 30 percent of the plan consists of contracted

projects, and only one is in the institute's field. With the tacit agreement of the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon party committee, however, the institute is changing its registration and moving over to the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, where it will be under the newly established State Committee for Environmental Protection.

Who needs this kind of camouflage? If the institute continues its comfortable do-nothingness under its new sign, the Cheremushkinskiy Raykom must be the one to broach the subject of closing it.

Many institutes which have done nothing for many years to establish a testing and experimentation base, and with their regular production operation frequently thousands of kilometers away, are stubbornly clinging to Moscow. Would it not be more logical to move these institutes closer to their production bases? Particularly, since new jobs can no longer be created in the capital.

In short, the new administrative agency at the Moscow Soviet's ispolkom, which is responsible for technological progress under the general plan, has something to think about and to work on. The results from the adoption of the new management methods will depend to a significant degree upon how efficiently and extensively the Moscow City Main Supply Administration is able to organize wholesale trade in the city with industry's funds.

In view of the fact that all enterprises in material production will be operating under terms of economic accountability as of January 1989, it is essential, after coordinating this with the USSR Gosnab, to take additional steps to enlarge the network of wholesale stores and establish commercial centers in Moscow. Beginning in January of next year, under this progressive system, the Moscow Gorispolkom must distribute all material and technical resources of enterprises producing consumer goods without regard for their departmental subordination. This will be only the first step, however. During the next five-year period all of Moscow's enterprises must convert to wholesale trade in raw and processed materials.

These, comrades, are only a few of the urgent tasks which all of the new city administrative agencies, the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon ispolkoms must literally roll up their sleeves and take on. These areas are headed mainly by mature and experienced cadres, most of them Communists. Well trained workers from the apparatuses of party organs will arrive here in the immediate future. And we are justified in expecting them to be able to handle the new problems constantly raised by the restructuring.

The application of the new plan for the management of Moscow's economy will take place simultaneously with changes in the structure and improvement of the party organ apparatuses.

When the Central Committee Politburo considered proposals for reorganizing the party apparatus it proceeded from the premise that it would be a big mistake to stray into compromises and all kinds of palliatives. Major decisions are needed.

For many years we have developed what M.S. Gorbachev described as a sort of super-system, which has practically become party routine.

The essence of the system's reorganization is well known. It consists in discarding the system's current fragmentation by branch. As an inseparable element of the party's organizational structure, the apparatus must become, in Lenin's words, eminently firm and suited for maneuvering. It is going to have to become the tool by means of which elected party organs carry out their political, organizational and indoctrinal functions.

The reorganization of the gorkom apparatus and the raykoms will be based on these Central Committee demands. Work on the new structure is underway right now.

This greatly increases the need to restructure the work performed with the cadres, to establish a selection and placement system. Creative, capable, theoretically prepared, staunch supporters of the restructuring, schooled in life and with political experience must be selected for this work.

Accordingly, the role and responsibility of the Moscow Higher Party School are being enhanced. By the end of 1990 every second worker in the apparatus of the party raykom and every third released committee secretary will have a higher party education. The ideological arena is the most heated area of the restructuring. Consistency and continuity of decisions and practical action are particularly important here. While not forgetting about such thoroughly tested methods for considering the opinions of the people as the study of the mail and questions asked at meetings of the aktiv and the population, and "open letter" days, we need to enlarge our sociological studies and make bolder use of referendums of the population for resolving the most acute problems in the city's life and to be more vigorous in shaping public opinion. Classes in the system of party training and political and economic education for the workers begin in a week. This will be a serious test for our ideological aktiv. Unfortunately, it far from always keeps up with changing events. The intellectual capability of the capital's party organization is clearly not being adequately utilized, and formalism and idle talk are being eliminated too slowly in the party training and mass propaganda.

Today all of us are learning how to live and function in the new way, under the new conditions. We can clearly see how difficult it is for the lessons of glasnost and

democracy to get through. It should be said with all candor that certain party workers and even rank and file Communists are frightened by the prospect of stimulating political and public life.

Our position in these difficult processes has been and remains unalterable. The party is resolutely behind the renewal and the improvement of our society's health and our economic relations. However, we shall also uncompromisingly combat all antisocialist occurrences and the instigative actions of those who would exploit glasnost and democracy.

And let no one be mistaken about that. Law and order are mandatory for everyone. Agencies of soviet power must strictly observe the principles set forth in the ukase passed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the rules for organizing and conducting assemblies, mass-meetings, marches and demonstrations.

The mass media presently enjoy the deserved respect of a vast audience. I am convinced that the restructuring and glasnost will not advance without the press. Newspaper, television and radio workers therefore bear special responsibility. The journalists, however, including Moscow journalists, sometimes lack the political background and class sensitivity to get their bearings in highly important social processes. A vagueness of ideological positions sometimes result from this.

The continued expansion of glasnost should serve to consolidate the socialist society and must be based on a high level of professionalism and competence, complete reliability of information and a high ideological and moral caliber on the part of those to whom the party platform is made available. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the position of certain journalists who flaunt their "principles"—more correctly, their lack of principle—attempt to flout morality and have a demoralizing effect particularly on the youth, and incite people to engage in unlawful actions.

Some press organs have an overly simplified understanding of the restructuring processes, are frightened by its advance and paint a distorted picture of what is occurring in the society.

Out of the clear blue sky MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, for example, announced that the number of people dissatisfied with the progression of the restructuring is growing in the capital.

One wonders where the data came from. It is the job of the press to pass on the best experience, to work to enhance responsibility, discipline and order, and not become like the petty bourgeoisie, who whine and give in to any kind of difficulties. Attaching extreme importance to the national question, the 19th All-Union conference passed a special resolution. Preparations are underway

for a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on this matter. A commission of deputies on international relations has been set up in the Moscow Soviet.

We must not forget, however, that this is primarily a matter for our party. The Communists are obligated to participate actively in the shaping of a culture of international relations in the school and the Pioneer organization, and particularly in the Komsomol, where the foundation of internationalism is laid. The mass media, teachers of the social disciplines and cultural agencies are going to have to eliminate the elementary illiteracy of a certain part of the Muscovites in the history and culture of their great city and in the history of all the peoples making up our inviolable union.

The restructuring has rocked our entire creative and spiritual life and made it brighter and fuller. We have new museums, private viewings, open-air folk festivals and concerts. The drabness, boredom and formalism are giving way, and the atmosphere and the conditions are being created for the fullest flowering of the creative intelligentsia's capabilities.

At the initiative of the gorkom a program has been worked out for renovating Moscow's theaters, and it has been approved by the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. The USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to prepare a decree within 3 months defining measure for the reconstruction and expansion of theater and concert buildings and the opening of new entertainment establishments.

In a month the Komsomol will celebrate its 70th birthday. It is the duty of the Communists to help the political youth organization reach a qualitatively new level in its work. Precisely that, help, and not tutelage of the Komsomol members under any pretext.

Revolutionary changes in the Soviet society are impossible without the active and sincere support of the youth. We need to have greater faith in the young people. The issue of faith is a fundamental question of party policy with respect to the youth. The linkage of the times and the continuity of generations are broken when it is not resolved. It is unacceptable to ignore the social needs of the youth. The movement of youth housing developments has received the active support of party and soviet organs. Because of this 33,000 young families will acquire better housing during the 12th and 13th five-year periods. The development of the comprehensive program "The Young Family," a first, is also of fundamental importance. This is only the beginning of the enormous, multifaceted job which has to be accomplished in the capital in order to restore the social status of the youth and create all of the essential conditions for them. Youth problems must be given priority by the soviets of people's deputies.

A recent plenum of the MGSPS discussed in detail the tasks of the Moscow trade unions with respect to strengthening their position in the struggle to fulfill decisions coming out of the All-Union party conference. A new structure was approved for the MGSPS. The reorganization of the trade union administrative agencies is designed to overcome the ossification and the narrowly departmental approach to the work on the part of the apparatus, and its unwieldiness. The work of the trade unions will be based on a two-part structure. The trade union central committees with branch-territorial subdivisions operating in Moscow will have the opportunity to establish direct, inseparable ties with the labor collectives. This approach is in keeping also with those reforms being made in the management of the national economy and its sectors.

I particularly want to discuss an extremely important political campaign now gathering force, the reports and elections in the party organizations. They have now been held in 80 percent of the party groups and a third of the shop party organizations in Moscow, and meetings are now underway in the primary party organizations.

The performance of the elected party organs is being acutely assessed. The reports and elections have become a real catalyst of progressive ideas. The atmosphere at the vast majority of meetings is imbued with innovative and large-scale thinking on the part of the Communists, born of the restructuring and the party conference.

The discussion goes beyond the affairs of the brigade, the section or the shop. It is not surprising that more than 160,000 critical comments and suggestions have been submitted. The people are not indifferent to the absurdities of the current petition drive, to the distortions in the development of the cooperative movement, to the lines, to issues of social justice or to the weakening of the campaign against alcohol abuse.

It is important also to stress another noteworthy fact: more than a third of the party groups and the secretaries of shop party organizations were elected from among two or more candidates. The report and election campaign is gaining strength. Ahead lies the most important phase, the meetings and conferences. We need to derive some conclusions in order to conduct the reports and elections at a high ideological-political and organizational level.

The buro of the Moscow city committee did not ask that all of the details and aspects of that enormous job facing us in the reform of the political system be covered in the report. That would be simply impossible and would not be in the spirit of the times. It is far more important to hear the greatest number of specific proposals and the most advice

possible for intensifying the restructuring from participants in the plenum of the city party committee. We are counting on this kind of open and earnest discussion.

Today is a time of concrete and decisive action, a time of heightened responsibility on the part of everyone for the fate of the restructuring. The vigor of our performance must measure up to the scope of the impending job. With action, only with action, can we affirm the historical destination of a member of the Leninist party—to be in the vanguard, to be out front.

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**Prokofyev Elected to Buro at Moscow Plenum**  
*18000047b Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Plenum of the Moscow Gorkom of the CPSU"]

[Text] A plenum of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU was held on 24 September. It discussed the tasks of the capital's party organization in the restructuring of management of Moscow's municipal economy and the enhancement of the role and independence of the soviets of people's deputies.

A report was presented by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow party gorkom.

The following spoke in the discussion on the topic: V.V. Klyuyev, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU; A.V. Malyshov, roller operator at the Serp i molot plant; L.P. Mikhaylov, chief of the Gidroproekt Institute imeni S.Ya. Zhuk; V.B. Nosov, general director of the GPZ-1 production association; A.N. Nikolayev, first secretary of the Baumanskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU; V.I. Resin, first deputy chairman of Mosstroykomitet; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; T.N. Kuchenkova, lathe operator at the Freezer plant; V.P. Kolomnikov, general director of the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol (the Moskvich production association); A.G. Bortsov, second secretary of the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU; A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU; Academician V. Semenikhin; L.P. Mavrina, printing press operator in the CPSU's Pravda Publishing House; V.A. Protopopov, professor at Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov.

A resolution was passed on the topic discussed.

The plenum resolved to convene the 27th Conference of the Moscow City Organization of the CPSU on 20 January 1989.

The following agenda was approved for the conference:

1. Report of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU;
2. Report of the Auditing Commission of the Moscow City Organization of the CPSU;
3. Elections to the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU;
4. Elections to the Auditing Commission of the Moscow City Organization of the CPSU.

A quota was set for representation at the 27th Conference of the Moscow City Organization of the CPSU: one delegate for each 1,180 party members.

In rayon party organizations in which there are more than 590 extra CPSU members, one more delegate is elected.

Delegates to the city party conference are elected in accordance with the party Charter by closed (secret) ballot at rayon party conferences.

Communists in party organizations of the Moscow Garrison's military subunits elect delegates along with the corresponding territorial party organizations at rayon party conferences.

The plenum approved the composition of a commission to prepare for the 27th Party Conference of the Moscow City Organization of the CPSU.

Yu.A. Prokofyev was elected by secret ballot as secretary and member of the Buro of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

The plenum relieved Yu.A. Belyakov of his duties as secretary and member of the Buro of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU due to his transfer to a job in the Moscow Gorispolkom.

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#### Estonia's Toome Explains, Defends Developments in Republic *18000082 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 38, 17-24 Sep 88 pp 1-3*

[Interview with Indrek Toome, secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, conducted by Dimitriy Klenskiy; date, place, and occasion not specified]

[Text] When one meets acquaintances in Moscow or Leningrad now, instead of "H'llo," one hears the question—"What is happening in Estonia, the second

Karabakh?" The obvious anxiety is flavored with incredible stories... Of course, where there is smoke there is fire. But because of the silence of the central press, events in the republic are frequently misinterpreted. Some people do so out of lack of knowledge and some because they are not overblessed with political sophistication, and others out of malicious intent to drive a wedge. It is generally acknowledged that in Estonia the beneficial process of democratization is perhaps developing more markedly than in other Union republics. But was the nationality question really so acute one or two years ago as it is today? It is as if a virus had taken root. And if this question really exists, then is it not exaggerated? Are people's eyes growing big from fear? The conversation with Comrade Indrek Toome began with that.

[Toome] This line of thought is to my liking. The basis of the changes is a normal and logical political process. Yes, people's activism is high: the champions of the new against the old. I emphasize champions rather than simply supporters of restructuring. For there are no obvious opponents. One cannot consider sympathizers to be allies because while they of course are "for" us in words, they are in no hurry to do anything.

But a person who is pushed to wake up, and even more so a person who feels that he is being knocked off his feet, especially if he is a dishonorable person, resorts to forbidden devices. The bugbear of local nationalism is dragged out; narrow-minded people always have this saving straw at hand.

[Klenskiy] Yes, in a multinational state it is easy to at will speculate precisely on the nationality question. Because of the vulgar understanding of nationalism mass repressions followed in Estonia in 1950 and in Latvia in 1949, and there were even cases of burning of books in national languages. All this is in the people's memory. National feelings were wounded and distortions were not avoided. And now the wave is going the other way.

[Toome] At the start of the year and even just recently Central Television requested that I comment on the events in the republic. And what happened? Our attitude toward the Union plan to mine phosphorites in Estonia was "cut out" in the first conversation. The second time our understanding of the role of the Popular Front in the restructuring process was left "out of the picture." But the audience did learn about my attitude toward nature and about my interests. For some reason it is disturbing that those who supervise the work of journalists and those who edit them are not always bold enough to tell all honestly and openly even in the age of restructuring.

[Klenskiy] Especially when discussing nationality problems commentators are seized with incomprehensible shyness and political coquetry. Is that not why the worsening of inter-nationality relations is hushed up?

[Toome] We are seriously worried about the lack of prompt information on political and inter-nationality processes on the Union level. We are not indifferent to what people say about us in different regions of the country. In neighboring Latvia there was a plenum of the Writers Union which discussed the republic's urgent problems. Interest in the event was enormous. But we did not find out what was really going on for a long time. And to be honest, in the republic during the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, we rejoiced at the briefing given by our delegation to Soviet and foreign journalists and at the meetings at TASS and in the editorial office of the newspaper IZVESTIYA. We want information to come first-hand from the local area and give an objective interpretation which expresses the real specifics of the processes in the given region. I consider an idea which originated in a small community of ours, in Rapla, to be exceptionally attractive. They proposed setting up an all-Union weekly VESTNIK PERESTROYKI of 16 pages, 15 of which would be offered to the Union republics. Each one would have its own page! The authors of the idea consider "preparation" of the texts to be inadmissible; the idea of the changes should reach the Union reader in untarnished form. A worthwhile thought!

We must reject stereotypes in covering the life of the national republics. Specific national peculiarities are all described the same way. I remember one holiday essay in a respected central publication in which Estonia was spoken of as a republic with a far-flung network of roads along which there are farmsteads here and there with girls in national costume standing next to them. That is certainly antipropaganda!

But a different flaw is observed in the republic press. Most likely editorial offices are not able to digest the stream of information. They justifiably say that one day now is equal to a week in terms of saturation with sociopolitical events. All kinds of public organizations are springing up like mushrooms! The newspapers are crammed with appeals, manifestos, and declarations. People are in a rush to speak out. The trouble is something else—lack of professionalism and political sophistication of both readers and of certain journalists.

Disappointment awaited us in "our own house" too—the passivity of party and ideological workers and their inadequate vigor and inability to persuade people. That is where the fear of debate comes from and the inability to even talk. There is also not enough general sophistication in ideological disputes, especially with young people. These days one is more likely to encounter the statement of a housewife, a student, and a candidate of sciences rather than the thoughts and opinions of a party member or a public figure.

[Klenskiy] Is the communication one-sided? Why are convincing arguments with clear ideological positions rare? Why do people talk of a crisis of confidence?

[Toome] Democracy has proved to be a stumbling block for many people who were set up in high posts. The republic's leaders avoided open debates—that is no accident. They deliberately or unintentionally chose audiences which were a little more tranquil and "a little more reliable" for meetings with people. Of course, that is no rarity even now. And in general, when one speaks of a crisis of confidence, all of us are responsible for it—both members of the Central Committee Buro and our Central Committee, and even all the republic's 113,000 communists.

[Klenskiy] Can it be said that the republic's party leadership now has a vote of confidence?

[Toome] Yes, but it is on credit. The work will confirm the people's expectations. And one of those expectations is an ecologically pure Estonia. It is noteworthy that the television journalist and leader of the Estonian "Greens Movement" Yukhan Aare was part of our delegation at the 19th Party Conference. He was the one who began the press struggle against the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, which planned to mine phosphorites in Virumaa on an enormous scale. And using the open-cut method, which would be destructive to nature. Scientists have proved that, but their conclusions did not stand in the ministry's way. The population became alarmed, for working quarries near Tallinn were a serious warning: a higher sickness rate was noted in the suburbs of Marrdu, the ground waters are becoming polluted, and the cows at a nearby dairy farm were suffering.

In the northeast part of the republic people have already become accustomed to a lunar landscape and scars on the land as a result of open-cut mining of shale. But the point is not the landscape, although Estonians have a touchingly solicitous attitude toward it. We care what kind of water we drink, what we breathe, and what the lungs of our children and grandchildren are filled with. Another danger also threatened. The mining of phosphorites was envisioned in the region of the Pandivereskiy Hills, which has an extremely rare geological structure. One quarter of the republic's fresh water accumulates in the underground karst pockets. Rivers whose drainage basins encompass one third of Estonia's continental territory start there. It would be a crime to destroy such a fragile underground storehouse. At one time the leaders of the republic, and even in Moscow, ignored those warnings.

We were unfamiliar with such activism by the population. A stubborn struggle went on all last summer. Press conferences, journalists' raids, and in the proposed mining region—public picketing and rallies. Even a song was made up about the land of Virumaa, its own hymn! The "Greens" movement emerged in the republic along with the first Nature Preservation Society in the country.

[Klenskiy] But at that time, a year ago, was it realized yet that this was not mutiny, but rather the people's fervent participation in the affairs of state and a desire to influence their outcome?

[Toome] Unfortunately, the situation came to a head on 2 February. That day marked the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Tartu Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Estonia. It was the RSFSR which was the first to breach the blockade set up by the intervention forces when, unlike the United States and the European countries, it recognized Estonian statehood—Estonians acquired it for the first time in history at that time. The event was worthy of an altogether official and solemn celebration. Yes, it was a triumph of Leninist foreign policy! But what happened? The public once again took the initiative to celebrate the peace, and this time it was by no means the best part of the public. The event had hidden meaning: remembrance of bourgeois statehood. Even the republic's CP Central Committee took the wrong position and saw the coming rally as a kind of mob meeting of nationalists. The evening of that day special subdivisions of militia with shields, truncheons, gas masks, and dogs appeared in the streets of Tartu to frighten the inhabitants and visitors. Of course, there was also a skirmish with troublemakers, in general youths behaving like hooligans. The population interpreted this act as an insult to civic feelings and the personal dignity of those who had gathered. On 24 February people roused by nationalists and of course foreign radio voices began to gather in Tallinn. For the most part they were young men and women. They came to the monument to Tammsaare, the classic author of Estonian literature.

[Klenskiy] Did the leadership show understanding then?

[Toome] They had to. Using television we conducted a debate and continued it in halls where historians and jurists, sociologists, and party workers spoke before those who had assembled.

We must soberly recognize that although there was a great deal that was narrow-minded in the people's statements, they nonetheless touched on the sore points of their life, labor, and existence. We repeated these meetings. They convinced many people of the truism that you have to deal with the people, especially if they are dissatisfied with something.

[Klenskiy] Did it become clear at these meetings that shortcomings in nationality policy and environmental protection and problems in the study of the Estonian language had been attributed entirely to interrepublic migration?

[Toome] Right, it had to be acknowledged—mechanical growth in the republic's population is very high. In postwar times an average of 13,000 people a year came to Estonia to live permanently, and that resulted in economic and social distortions. In 1945 the proportion

of Estonians in the republic's population was 97 percent, now it is about 60 percent. The Russian-speaking population predominates in the cities of Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva, and Sillamyae. The industrial center of Estonia is there. Estonians make up only half the inhabitants in Tallinn. All this at times led to national alienation rather than internationalism and engendered tension and malaise in the population: Estonians did not feel at home. That certainly must be taken into account. And uncontrolled one-sided migration worsens the living conditions of everyone, regardless of nationality. Therefore, people in the republic today are unanimous in the belief that this must be definitely straightened out.

In itself migration is a purely social phenomenon. Unfortunately, Estonians also link migration with the supply of food and industrial goods to the population. In brief, tensions in interethnic dealings are emerging. People are taking advantage of this. The press has suddenly begun to use the strictly sociological term "migrant" extensively.

[Klenskiy] Some people consider any non-Estonian a migrant. At times it reaches the point where the newspapers have even proposed in plain terms that Russians go to Pskov Oblast to colonize the abandoned villages.

[Toome] I completely condemn all these provocations and tales. Whom does playing on national feelings benefit? Someone benefits from heating up the cauldron of public dissatisfaction. We have convinced editors that they are playing with fire. But the genie has been released.

[Klenskiy] Incidentally, no one has defined precisely who the migrant is. What if he is an Estonian living in Russia and wants to return to Estonia; is he a migrant? To what period of settlement should the concept of migrant be limited?

[Toome] The Philistines only like to pour out their emotions. At times they do not think about civil responsibility and sophistication of behavior at all. Or about humanism, ultimately. As the Estonians say, language runs faster than thought.

There were enough of these blunders in the beginning. It was difficult to stop the verbal chain reaction which began in response. I remind you once again that we were disappointed in the political sophistication of some authors of our publications. It is not a matter of there being prohibited topics; the point is that human dignity must not be insulted in the press and national feelings must not be wounded.

It is not the migrants who are to blame for the problems of migration but the departmental policy of the Union ministries. And the connivance of the republic itself. It was the former leaders of Estonia who by unthinkingly approving the construction of needed enterprises and of

ones which were unnatural to the structure of republic industry and consenting to extensive development of production at that time did not consider the demographic consequences.

[Klenskiy] Was that a major economic and political error?

[Toome] Yes. Like a delayed-action shell! It did not make itself known immediately. During the fall of last year the Tartu city newspaper EDAZI (Forward) published a letter by four authors which caused a sensation. They laid out a program which envisioned Estonia getting out of the economic, and especially social, stagnation. And by its own efforts. It was even proposed that Estonia have its own hard currency in order to reach the foreign market. A devastating article by the chairman of gosplan Valeriy Paulman was published in the press, the Russian-language press. Menace began to be felt in the air again. For the idea of republic cost accounting, which is more correctly called regional cost accounting, had already resounded throughout Estonia at lightning speed before that! It was supported in many labor collectives, for the most part among Estonians. Here is an important detail. For a long time not a single newspaper reprinted the article from EDAZI in Russian.

But the realization of the idea is not simple. Enormous preparatory work is needed. On the other hand, the idea itself is simple: to manage economic activity on the republic's territory ourselves and to be accountable for results ourselves. That rules out dependence and injustice. By that I do not mean a primitive comparison of republics—who delivers what to whom and how much is delivered, but the efficiency of production. How can that be compared? Well, regional cost accounting presupposes only equivalent commodity exchange. And for everyone, not just for Estonia or the Ukraine. Is that really unfair?

Incidentally, today there is much talk about economic equality of republics. But it is difficult to judge the level of their national income and their contribution to the general national coffers when we consider today's conservative system of prices. It has been ascertained that in agriculture national income has been artificially lowered, while in industry it is the opposite. The agrarian specialization of Estonia is well known. And it is offensive to the local peasant to hear that according to some official method of calculation he is in debt to the state. Such bureaucratic tricks help deform national consciousness. This is where the hidden preconditions for worsening inter-nationality relations come from.

Because of the voluntaristically established purchase prices for animal husbandry output, according to the data of Academician Mikhail Bronshteyn, Estonia is shorted 150 million rubles a year from the sale of milk alone. It turns out that prices are differentiated according to zones of the country and all kinds of increases and

coefficients which few people know about and few people understand are taken into account. As a result Moscow Oblast sells a liter of milk for 46 kopecks, while our republic sells it for 34 kopecks. But the lowest prime cost of milk is at our republic's farms. It turns out that our incomes are artificially lowered when accounts are settled with the state. But this approach does not stimulate initiative. Or here is another example. We sell our neighbors in the country's Northwest electricity at lower than prime cost—and that is low because of the price of shale, which was simply pulled out of the air. But shale is the most costly chemical raw material! And we burn it cheap. That is how we handle our resources. And not only our own—it is after all the wealth of the country as a whole.

We are not setting the goal of gaining at someone else's expense. We want everything to be in its place. We are for economic justice. That will be the moving force of any local initiative when state interests are observed. As decentralization increases and the dictatorship of the ministries, the Soviet sectorial monopolies, is eliminated, in the opinion of the adherents of regional cost accounting, many social problems will be overcome. This same migration, for example. A Union ministry has no nationality and with equal indifference it pollutes the natural area next to Yasnaya Polyana and the area 10 kilometers from Tallinn. In creating another monster-enterprise, the ministry is certain that it is doing the local soviet a great favor through capital investments and construction of housing, which there is not enough of for everyone all the same. This dictatorial approach is coming to an end. There is more than one rayon soviet which has denied the Union ministries' claims. And these refusals must not be considered a manifestation of nationalism. All-state, nationwide interests are made up of local interests! This is a truth which neither we in Tallinn nor Moscow have wanted to understand at all up to this point.

[Klenskiy] How do you regard the demands which were made to the republic's leadership at one of the rallies—"Defend the republic's interests in Moscow and not just Moscow's in the republic"?

[Toome] It was precisely inability to defend the legal interests of the republic on behalf of the republic which was the cause of the lack of confidence the people expressed to the leadership and then the republic's CP Central Committee Buro. It is unpleasant to talk about that. But if we do not admit that, we would not be communists. People who have taken restructuring to heart cannot fail to admit it. Especially since who if not the party itself should concern themselves with restoring its prestige? Sometimes they want to make it seem there is no crisis of confidence at all. Or they condemn people for acknowledging it publicly. But it is not fitting for communists to hide in the bushes. I understand very well why a large number of the members of the republic's party organization are joining the Popular Front which is being created here in support of restructuring. Indeed,

the initiators in its creation are communists. The crisis of confidence has done a great deal of harm. Those who do not share our ideology have begun to speak loudly. Taking advantage of the fact that communists feel a sense of guilt for the years of stagnation, criticism has been replaced by carping.

We call the passivity of communists and the party leadership trench psychology. Many party functionaries and activists unfortunately even now sometimes prefer to sit on the fence and wait for an order from above rather than act out of conviction and conscience. Our ranks were for a time infected with "tailism" in Lenin's words—we often followed in the footsteps of events. The mutual high standards of Central Committee members were being replaced by "tickling"—that is what "criticism for show" is called here.

[Klenskiy] And the combined plenum of the republic's creative unions which took place? Was that an exceptional measure?

[Toome] No one can remember such a broad exchange of opinions not only among representatives of the intelligentsia but in general in our postwar history. The talk was absolutely frank. Everyone who wanted to speak got the floor. The public response was absolutely enormous. Just enormous! Probably all the crucial questions which are now disturbing the republic's residents were raised. The pressure from below was strong. But revolutionary restructuring is only possible "from below." Not everyone has assimilated that. So the attitudes in the Central Committee Buro toward the plenum of the creative unions proved to be varied.

While listening to our opponent, we forgot how to hear him. And there was a great deal that was sensible in the speeches of experts and creative workers. It was no accident that their proposals were the basis of the platform of our republic's party organization at the 19th Conference. Of course, there were also controversy and completely unacceptable things. But if we recognize the pluralism of opinions, we have to at least listen to each other. We have to see the forest behind the trees. I repeat this everywhere, especially at meetings with workers. It is important to discern trends. And not to panic if something in particular does not coincide with the generally accepted viewpoint. The intelligentsia is distinguished by innovative thinking. What keeps us party workers from figuring out the essence of what has been said? We can if we want to.

[Klenskiy] All the same, have the summary documents of the combined plenum of creative unions been published in the party press to this day?

[Toome] That was our mistake. And an unforgivable one. It was also trouble because the reputation of the plenum documents was growing every day, but for the most part among the Estonian population, while the

Russian-speaking part of the population remained ignorant and became nervous about it. That is where the talk about replacing the party with creative unions and resettling Russians and Estonia seceding from the USSR came from... Incredible nonsense.

[Klenskiy] Is it possible that someone set that goal?

[Toome] I do not think so. But the direct benefit of it was to the opponents of restructuring and extremists, chauvinists and nationalists. Conflicts on national soil benefit all of them. It is a stern lesson to us. Only after one and one-half months did the youth newspaper publish the results of the plenum documents in Russian. But people's attitudes toward this too were varied.

At that time political initiative was in the hands of the creative unions and the Council on Affairs of Culture. The entire republic listens to its discussion club, which broadcasts directly on Estonian radio during the dinner break on Fridays.

The council has perhaps become a brain center. It is a unique kind of consulting meeting which poses pressing questions and uses experts to comment on them. The council seems to seek out the flaws of our life and make a diagnosis. The intelligentsia and its mouthpiece in the republic—the Council on Affairs of Culture—are a generator of ideas. The party committees should have been grateful from the very beginning for the useful recommendations of this Council and should have rolled up their sleeves and got down to solving the problems. That is more or less what is happening now. But at first there was confusion and opposition. It was precisely in this situation that the Popular Front arose!

The Popular Front has local support groups; above all they are called upon to work through the local soviets and through deputies of all ranks in order to insure the real pursuit of mandates and to participate in resolving the vitally important problems of their particular rayons. It is something like civil control. Incidentally, it was precisely in this situation that the milkmaid Maarika Kristmann wrote the statement about refusing to perform the duties of a deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Moreover, she is not alone. It is for a simple reason: incompetence and the unwillingness to be a bit player during voting on affairs of state. I believe that is honest. This facet of the Popular Front's influence is to my liking.

The Popular Front does not make claims to the party's role. Or to the role of an organization at all. Its initiators call the front a democratic movement, a civil initiative. One can find many phenomena like it in the socialist countries. We are not accustomed to communists fighting for restructuring in other than their own party

organization. That position disturbs some apparat workers. But where was their pride before? For it is clear that in many party organizations there is still not a favorable restructuring atmosphere and they have to be shaken somehow.

A crisis of confidence! Objectively it compelled active communists to look for any ways to accelerate restructuring. We must not wait. Incidentally, who belongs to the initiative group of the Popular Front? The journalists of Estonian television. They are all communists. Well-known people in the republic make up the brain center and they are all communists: Academician Viktor Palm, the economist Edgar Savisaar, and Maryu Lauristin, the head of the journalism department at Tartu University and a sociologist who, by the way, is the daughter of the well-known Estonian revolutionary who died in 1941. They believe it is their journalistic duty to speed up restructuring. And they are convinced that it is real only when it is supported by the people.

In general people's participation in public life and the most varied ad hoc organizations is amazing in scope. Mass donations to the most varied funds have become a tradition. The point is that the ages of Stalin and Brezhnev uprooted independent public action from our life. That is why such public organizations as DOSAAF, the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and even the Komsomol and trade unions have become "ritualistic." We are used to looking at the world through the eyes of the bosses, as prescribed from above. That is abnormal and unnatural. The more organizations, societies, and groups there are, all kinds, big and small, the better they nourish the social activism of citizens. Initiative which finds no use becomes asocial. Especially among young people. It is a truism that any social activity is a good school for the development of the individual and of civil maturity.

[Klenskiy] This question is also being asked: "What kind of front is it, popular or national?"

[Toome] Popular, of course. And the guarantee is seen in the highly positive attitude toward this healthy movement on the part of everyone—Estonians and Russians and Ukrainians—living in Estonia.

Before I left for Moscow and the 19th Party Conference I was at a meeting with the workers of the Dvigatel Plant. They asked me why I, a secretary of the Central Committee, did not show indignation at there not being red flags at Pevche Field during the rally. Incidentally, that was not quite true... Although in fact there were many blue, black, and white flags. Such political dependence surprised me. So I was glad when someone from the hall shouted: "And why didn't the person who asked the question come with a red flag in his hands?" And then I said let workers come with proletarian banners to the next event of the Popular Front! An ovation resounded in response. Of course, it is difficult to imagine that we

are completely safe from manifestations of extremism or even from political provocations. But we are certain that the top levels will always support healthy inter-nationality forces.

Today, in conditions of a perceivable lack of communication among different national groups, the artificial cultivation of a watchful attitude toward the Popular Front serves to stimulate suspicion among the Russian-speaking population. It is true that the situation is improving, but it is always more difficult to rectify a mistake. Among the Russian-speaking population the collective of the Dvigatel Plant was most actively engaged in discussing the Popular Front's declaration. The Estonian newspapers did not publish their appeal to the republic's population which expressed their attitude toward the Front and doubts about some of its positions! Once again we had to explain and now on a different "flank." Political mistakes are criminal and every political figure must bear responsibility for them.

[Klenskiy] The intention to create an Interethnic Movement was declared in Tallinn.

[Toome] It is most unfortunate that the idea of an Interethnic Movement signifies a demarcation, granted an unintentional one, by nationality. The disagreements start from complete misunderstanding of the concerns and national expectations of the native population. That is why many people, including those at the Dvigatel Plant, consider this platform a failure in terms of finding a common language with the Popular Front which has real authority among the population.

[Klenskiy] Visitors are at times confused, for example, upon seeing national symbols. Every now and then they are used demonstratively as a remembrance of the bourgeois republic. Is this to shock the Philistines? And yet the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted a decree on national symbols. Is that not a compromise?

[Toome] You mean concessions? You are right, politics is the art of concessions. But in this case no, it is not compromise. This unfortunate question of symbols should have been resolved long ago. But the political situation accounts for the fact that official recognition of it has only just now come. We would be fools if we did not acknowledge that. We must bear in mind one other important detail. The combination of these three colors—dark blue, black, and white...

"It is very pretty." [correspondent speaking]

...was used as a national symbol long before the proclamation of bourgeois Estonia—back in the last century! For Estonians the tricolor, like the cornflower and the swallow, symbolizes national pride, independence, and preservation of the nation. Why pretend we do not know that? On the contrary, that must even be propagandized. Especially since the republic is not at all rejecting the State Flag of the Estonian SSR! Undoubtedly, those will

be found who will speculate on the former "forbidden fruit." But there is no doubt that we will fight uncompromisingly against "uninational patriotism, as Genrikh Borovik called it at the 19th Party Conference. The extremists will not get through! But they do exist. Such sentiments will exist as long as our economy and socio-cultural life are weak.

And speaking honestly, all these negative phenomena are being severely exaggerated. Both preservers of traditional ways and citizens who are nostalgically longing for their own national exclusivity—all of them are looking at the problem primitively. There is no reason to dramatize the situation in Estonia. Transformations cannot fail to offend someone's interests.

[Klenskiy] Just what is happening in Estonia?

[Toome] Restructuring.

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12424

**Election of New Estonian Komsomol Leader Described**  
*18000077a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 1*

[ETA report: "A New Komsomol Leader Is Elected"]

[Text] A special plenum, No. 5, of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee was held on 28 September. The agenda consisted of organizational matters. First of all, A. Almann, first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, reported that 16 members of the Central Committee had submitted requests to be relieved of their duties as members of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. The reasons: family circumstances; moves to new locations outside the Estonian SSR to reside or to study; heavy work schedules; systematic avoidance of Komsomol work (one case); and lack of knowledge of the Estonian language (also one case). The plenum demonstrated no particular interest in this matter, and the voting was mechanical. New members were elected to replace those relieved of their duties. Discussion of the following matter was impatiently awaited, and was very lively.

The floor was turned over to I. Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, who announced that the current leader of our republic's Komsomol had submitted a request to be relieved of his duties as first secretary. A. Almann's request had been approved by the Buro of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee and the Buro of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The plenum relieved A. Almann of his duties as first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. His future job will be in the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Four people were nominated as candidates for the position of new Komsomol leader. Of these, Yu. Raydla had declined his nomination prior to the plenum, and T. Sikk did so at the plenum. Ya. Kyarson, first secretary of the Vyruskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee, also declined the nomination. This left two candidates: U. Laan and Yu. Pyarg. Both of them were given 10 minutes to explain their platform to the plenum and another 23 minutes to answer numerous questions, which required levelheadedness and political composure of them.

U. Laan was elected as the new first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee in subsequent secret balloting.

The voting was 52 for U. Laan, 40 against; 38 for Yu. Pyarg, 54 against.

N. Paltsev, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

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**ESSR Party Chief Vyalyas Meets With Workers, Local party Organizations**  
*18000077b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 pp 1,3*

[Report by R. Amos, Ye. Kapov and L. Mikhelson, ETA special correspondents, Kokhtla-Yarva and Narva: "Consulting the People"]

[Text] "The party organizations are pinning great hopes on our plenum today. Probably more than the plenum can fulfill. We shall say bluntly and honestly everything which has built up in us and what is hampering us in our work, talk about how we are going to do our job from now on, and from now on we must do our job in such a way that the people can say things are right with the party," said V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Central Committee, in his report at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. And this kind of discussion did ensue. A broad discussion of the results of the plenum in the republic's party organizations and labor collectives was a natural extension of it. V. Vyalyas' meetings with the workers of Kokhtla-Yarva and Narva, the leaders of city party organizations and the party and management aktiv involved the same sort of open and direct discussion of urgent problems brought up at the plenum and ways to resolve them.

Speaking at those meetings about the main tasks facing Estonia's Communists, V. Vyalyas stressed the need to consolidate the republic party organization, to increase the number of representatives of the native nationality among the Communists, to overcome the crisis of trust in the republic's leaders and to resolve social problems. He commented that we cannot permit misunderstandings arising in relations among the nations to retard the restructuring.

At one meeting members of the Buro of the Kokhtla-Yarva city party committee named the ecological crisis and the need to improve the environment as rapidly as possible as one of the most important problems facing the region. This will require the development of new, ecologically safe technologies. E. Vaas, director of the Kiviyl Shale Chemistry Plant, and N. Zakharov, first secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarva party gorkom, pointed out the importance of involving the academic institutes in the resolution of this problem, allocating the currency to buy the equipment and instruments for monitoring the environment, and building up the city's extremely limited construction capacities. Not to build new industrial enterprises, but to resolve problems of ecology and the development of social, cultural and personal service facilities.

V. Vyalyas stated that he had seen some incongruities in the Tallinn stores: vegetables were being harvested, but there were none in the stores. N. Dmitriyeva, operator with the Slantsekhim association, and E. Paap, chairman of the Estonian Territorial Committee of the Coal Miners' Trade Union, noted that the situation was the same in Kokhtla-Yarva.

"If we do not solve one of the priority problems, that of providing the population with food, we are going to lose people's confidence," V. Vyalyas underscored.

O. Raye, director of Secondary School No. 1 in Kiviyl, and K. Nagelman, secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarva party gorkom, said that the technical equipment of the city schools does not meet modern requirements: instructors are not being trained for the primary grades in the republic's Russian-language schools. Teachers are assigned to us from Odessa, for example. Naturally, they are incapable of teaching the children even the fundamentals of the Estonian people's history and culture. K. Nagelman made a constructive suggestion: that a branch of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute be set up at the branch of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute in Kokhtla-Yarva to train teachers from among local secondary-school graduates. V. Vyalyas approved the idea and said that it would be carefully studied.

At the meeting members of the buro of the city party committee announced that the Kokhtla-Yarva Communists approved the results of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and accepted the report from the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party as a program of action which provides answers to many important questions troubling the region's residents.

Following the talk in the city party committee V. Vyalyas met with the workers and specialists of a new shop at the Kokhtla-Yarva Kitchen Furniture Factory. This production facility, outfitted with imported equipment, has enabled the enterprise to increase labor productivity significantly, which is particularly important under the new economic conditions. Although the factory is now

experiencing difficult days because of inferior raw materials, the absence of railway cars and deficiencies in planning, the growth of commercial output has increased over last year's. The modern equipment has enabled the factory collective to master the output of new types of products and to open an experimental section, where custom-built furniture is manufactured.

Factor Director Yu. Naapa directed V. Vyalyas' attention to young worker Rayvo Roomelya, whose lathe was decorated with carnations. It was explained that the young man had turned 26 that day. V. Vyalyas wished him a happy birthday and enquired about his working conditions and wages, his family situation and living conditions, and about his prospects for advancement on the job.

There was a relaxed discussion with the shop workers, which turned into an impromptu "press conference." All kinds of questions were asked. Some of them were based on absurd rumors:

"I am concerned about the national question in the republic," worker A. Semenova said. "Why is the Estonian language so poorly taught in the Russian schools? Now there is talk that those who do not know Estonian will not be able to get scarce goods. Is that fair? That worries me."

"And this troubles me," V. Vyalyas said, "disrupting the universal laughter. "Here is a good example," he said, turning to those around him. "The very worst kind of distorted 'information.' I can assure you that there will never be this or any other sort of discrimination."

There were serious questions as well. Like all the Kokhtla-Yarva residents, the factory workers are concerned about the condition of the environment. Contamination of the air, water and soil is resulting in an incidence of child illnesses in the northeastern part of the republic which is higher than in the other regions, and premature births and lung diseases are more common there.

V. Vyalyas said that the environment is an object of special concern to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Unfortunately, little attention was given to this problem in the past. Everyone can understand a mother's concern for the fate of her children. When comrade Vyalyas worked in Nicaragua, he saw a great deal of human suffering, saw the war, whose main victims were children deprived of their childhood.

"Permit me to convey to you the gratitude of Daniel Ortega for the support which we have provided Nicaragua's struggling people and its children. Parcels into which Estonian children have packed their favorite toys have warmed the hearts of 18,000 little children deprived of parents in that much-suffering nation. Is this not an example of true internationalism? When my wife, whom many Nicaraguan children got to know, and I

were returning to the homeland, among those accompanying us to the airport were the wards of one of the children's homes. Holding the first doll she had ever had, a present from Estonian children, a little girl of three or four suddenly ran up to my wife and called her mama. People tried to explain to her that this was not her mother but the wife of the Soviet ambassador. No, the little girl insisted, this is my mama! As we walked up the steps we could see the little girl standing there, crying and clinching the doll to her breast. What person's heart does not ache at the sorrow of children?"?

Many of the questions addressed to V. Vyalyas were imbued with a sense of concern for the fate of our republic. Including the one asked by elderly metal worker K. Karofeld. Although there was a sharpness about the way the question was asked, it seemed to us that it was dictated by sincere concern for the future of Estonia.

"How long is Prime Minister Bruno Saul, who has been the object of so much criticism lately, going to remain in office"?

"I have already stated at the plenum, and I repeat now," V. Vyalyas replied, "that since Comrade Saul has acknowledged his errors and blunders and promised to correct them in his future work, I believe that the man should be believed and given an opportunity to prove his worth with his deeds. Incidentally, how much time do you give me for proving myself? Or do you already have some complaints about me"?

"None yet," the workers replied.

"The Estonians have an expression: "Meest sonast, harga sarvest," which means "you take a bull by his horns, a peasant by his words," V. Vyalyas said, turning to K. Karofeld.

"If I don't justify your expectations, you tell me...."

The next meeting took place at the Tammiku mine. Workers and specialists from the enterprise and the party and management aktiv at the Estonslanets production association were assembled. The small assembly hall at the mine was filled to overflowing, so great was the interest in the results of the plenum.

"I cannot answer all of your questions," V. Vyalyas said. "There has not been enough time, after an absence of 9 years, to familiarize myself with all the problems. I want to say one thing, however: It is gratifying that we received so many responses to the plenum voicing approval of the paths along which it is planned to resolve the main problems. The speeches at the plenum were critical and self-critical in the party manner. The present situation in the republic is serious: to a certain degree there is a crisis of confidence in the leadership of the republic party organization. And urgent problems have indeed piled up, with no answers to them. At first

everything was rejected, then admissions were made under the breath. Only then did we begin to think in harmony with the people—and only hesitantly at that.

"If you were to ask me right now what the main result of the plenum was, I would say that a candid and principled assessment was made of all the main problems, and ways were outlined for resolving them. This kind of openness and honesty have met with the support and understanding of the people."

After the brief introduction, V. Vyalyas invited those assembled to engage in a dialog.

V. Grushenko, deputy director of the mine, was the first to address him.

"When you spoke at the plenum, you said nothing about the International Movement...."

"Is that the republic's most important political problem in your opinion? I have already spoken about my attitude toward the word 'internationalism.' It is the most sacred thing we have in the party.... I explained my international credo also at the plenum, as secretary of the Central Committee. Internationalist ideology, the resolution adopted at the 19 All-Union party conference stressed, is incompatible with any kind of chauvinism or nationalism. And if the 'international movement' over-emphasizes factors which have nothing in common with real internationalism, the word is hardly worth using."

"A decision has been adopted to make Estonian the state language. The majority at our mine are Russian-speaking people. What kind of communication can there be if documents are in Estonian, and even the typewriters write Estonian?" asked P. Kolesnichenko, deputy chief engineer at the mine.

"And who told you this was the way it was going to be?" V. Vyalyas asked. "The fact is that distorted 'information' is doing great harm. One has the impression that you did not read the report very carefully. In the first place, a plenum does not adopt a decision on a state language. This is a constitutional matter, which can be decided only by the Supreme Soviet. The plenum only voiced its opinion. It was very precisely stated at the plenum that there will be absolute equality of languages. We speak of Estonian as the national language because it is the language of the Estonian people. And no one will ever be forced to use the language against his will. When we speak of a national language as a state language, we are speaking about ensuring the existence of the language, because Estonia is the only territory where Estonian is spoken. This does not mean, however, that all of your documents will be in Estonian even though you do not speak it. Nothing of the kind. The law on a state language will be very thoroughly prepared. And the language of international communication will function alongside the Estonian language, just as it does throughout the nation."

"Naturally, since we live in this land, our children must know the people's history and culture and study the language. I want you to get this straight: the status of a state language is a constitutional guarantee that Estonian will have a complete right to exist and develop in this territory. In the second place, there will be no discrimination whatsoever against Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian or any other language. In the third place, we need to correct the errors which have resulted in a situation in which people simply do not have an opportunity to study the Estonian language."

Right now, in the restructuring process, we need to think most of all about how we can work together for the common goal and not look for elements of national alienation. Nothing good has ever come of that, and the party will never permit it.

In response to questions asked by those assembled about relations among the nations, V. Vyalyas recalled what M.S. Gorbachev had told him: that one of the greatest treasures of the Soviet Union is the diversity of our national cultures and national languages. And we must be very cautious in this area, because no one will forgive us if we permit excesses.

A question asked by one of those present is proof of the fact that the inadequacy of information and its distortion are generating the most incredible rumors:

"They say that it is planned to evacuate the Russian-speaking population...."

The person was unable to complete the question, because it was greeted with loud laughter in the hall.

"Nothing like that is possible," V. Vyalyas answered. "And if anyone tells you such things, you have to act with principle. People who spread that kind of rumors are pursuing the obvious objective of inflaming international dissension."

V. Vyalyas was then asked questions about the republic's impending conversion to complete economic accountability, about the problem of establishing citizenship of the Estonian SSR, about the ineffectiveness of methods used for combatting alcoholism and alcohol abuse, and about the need to raise the level of the ideological work, a part of which is the international indoctrination of the workers under the new conditions, without formalities or stereotypes.

A report-and-election meeting was underway at the Estonia mine. The Communists in Mining Section No 13 had heard the report from the secretary of the shop party organization and were beginning the discussion. V. Vyalyas became a participant in a concerned discussion about production and public matters, about the restructuring at the enterprise and about the problems encountered by the labor collective as it attempts to apply the rights granted it under the new management terms.

In their assessment of the performance of their party organization, the Communists who spoke at the meeting spoke critically of deficiencies in the organization of the production process, of the deterioration in material supply and the quality of the equipment. They also devoted a lot of attention to ideological problems, including the one discussed by Communist Ye. Loko:

"Information about our slate extracting industry is one-sided. Judging from the speeches, we are occupied exclusively with harming the republic. There are demands for closing the mines and not building any new mining enterprises. I would like to know just what Estonia will sell if it converts to complete republic economic accountability. Where will the slate and electric energy come from? Steps must be taken to see that the information in the press is more objective."

Late that evening there was a discussion between V. Vyalyas and leaders of the gorkom and the city ispolkom at the Kokhtla-Yarva city party committee, in which he shared his impressions from his visit to the city. Also discussed at the meeting was a question which V. Vyalyas had been asked by many of the city's slate miners. It had to do with certain Estonian television broadcasts. V. Vyalyas reported that a commission headed by N. Gonyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, had been set up under the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to make a principled and objective decision on the matters which had arisen. The commission was to get to the bottom of the situation and present its findings to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee within a 10-day period, and was to report the results of its work to the members of the Kokhtla-Yarve party gorkom, the deputies of the city soviet and the Estonian public.

We traveled to Narva, and once again we had the impression that the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee was continuing. The same problems which were discussed from the speaker's platform at the plenum were being talked about now, just in a different auditorium and in a different form.

People in the city were waiting excitedly for V. Vyalyas to arrive. The speech by V. Malkovskiy, first secretary of the Narva party gorkom, had affected everyone who had read about the plenum proceedings.

"The fact is," V. Malkovskiy had said, "in the city party committee, particularly recently, there has been incomprehensible talk about whether a meeting was held to discuss the matter of the city's separation from the republic. Apparently someone would very much like this 'dainty dish.' I can say most definitely and with full responsibility that the city has been and will be a city of the Estonian SSR, and that the people of Narva are prepared to share all joys and sorrows with the Estonian people. I would ask you not to bring up this matter any more."

"One sometimes encounters the other side of the coin, statements like 'you are not one of us.' Let me give you an example. It is difficult how people could say to the Krengolm Manufaktura combine, the republic's largest textile enterprise, which makes a fairly substantial contribution to its economy, 'we are not going to plan an apartment building for you due to the fact that 90 percent of you are being assigned out of Estonia.'"

In the product assortment department at the finishing plant of the Krengolm Manufaktura combine, where V. Vyalyas was taken after a tour of the production operation, there were samples of stylishly colored fabrics which do not remain on the store shelves long. N. Sinyakova, plant director, stated that these fabrics are all in great demand at Union wholesale fairs. Before they are made available to the Union market, however, the same kind of fairs are held here, in Estonia. And until Krengolm fills the orders of consumers in our republic, not a single deal is made for exporting them out of the republic.

Prior to that, at a meeting in the combine's party committee, V. Vyalyas had been told about many pressing problems facing the enterprise. The combine's foreign economic contacts had evoked special interest. Incidentally, Krengolm's General Director O. Klushin is now in Japan, where talks are underway with possible partners. The combine has an acute need for currency for acquiring the more modern equipment which would make it possible to produce fabrics meeting the very highest standards. Soviet machine-building produces equipment which, as the diplomats put it, leaves a great deal to be desired. The raw materials arriving at the combine from outside Estonia frequently matches this equipment.

L. Prudova, chairman of the combine's trade union committee, V. Malkovskiy, secretary of the party gorkom, and A. Usk, chief engineer for the enterprise, also talked about the fact that the city suffers from an imbalance between construction capacities and supplies of construction materials. Because of this it is difficult to reconstruct enterprises. This includes Krengolm, where social and personal service matters should be resolved rapidly and well, for most of the workers there are women.

V. Vyalyas had a discussion with the combine workers about what is troubling the women today. It includes concern for the state of the environment in the city, dissatisfaction with the food supply and the high prices the cooperatives frequently set not just for their own products but also for items purchased at low prices outside the republic, and concern about the children, who do not have an opportunity to study the Estonian language at Narva schools, since there are not enough teachers in the city.

V. Vyalyas had not been at Krengolm in 10 years. A great deal had changed. During the past five-year period, the shops had been reconstructed and provided with more modern equipment. The glorious traditions of the Krengolm workers had not changed, however.

At V. Vyalyas' meeting with the enterprise's party aktiv, there was a serious discussion about the restructuring, about how to implement decisions of the 19th All-Union party conference and the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

In his introduction V. Vyalyas said the following:

"Among the republic's urgent problems there are a great many pertaining to our economy. And the way we live will depend upon how we perform and how we manage our economy.

"We had a very serious discussion at the plenum about republic economic accountability. There was some discussion about giving priority to the development of agriculture. After all, what is on our table—in other words, how the Food Program is being fulfilled—is one of the issues of greatest concern to us today.

"Questions having to do with the education and upbringing of our youth were discussed at the plenum. We have somehow managed to downgrade one of the achievements of Soviet power, the education of the upcoming generation. We need to see that the school produces real people and that education becomes the treasure it should be."

The concern of the people of Narva for republic problems was confirmed by the questions addressed to V. Vyalyas by participants in the meeting. They asked him to tell them in detail about the possibility of Estonia's conversion to republic economic accountability and enquired about the prospect for establishing Estonian as the state language, and in connection with this, about an overhaul of the entire system for teaching the language to children and adults.

Early in the morning, on the way to Narva but still a long way from the city, our photographer shot a scene typical of that part of the republic: against the background of a rising sun, a cloud of smoke and a trail leading from it. This was from the Pribaltiyskaya GRES, a "landscape" well known in the northeastern part of Estonia, an ancient plant which uses shale for fuel.

The subject of its reconstruction, interpreted by many as an expansion, evoked disputes at the most diverse levels. At the Pribaltiyskaya GRES V. Vyalyas had a talk with the plant leaders. The position of the power engineers and city authorities, with whom the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee agreed, is that the plant must be reconstructed, because in its current state it poses a serious danger to the environment. It is proper, however, that all of the modernization

work has been halted until ways are found to renovate the plant so that it does not threaten the health of people or the environment. It was decided to convene a broad conference to hear the opinions of specialists in various fields: power engineers, ecologists, economists. In short, all concerned people. Talks are underway with two Finnish firms on the purchase of equipment making it possible effectively to purify harmful emissions.

V. Vyalyas then met with workers and specialists at the Baltiyets plant. The assembly hall was filled. One sign of glasnost was the presence at the meeting of reporters from Estonian television. They had previously been unable to overcome the departmental barrier blocking their entrance to that enterprise. Once again V. Vyalyas talked about the 19th party conference and the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. And once again there were questions confirming the fact that the people of Narva are deeply concerned about what is happening in the republic. There were also questions, unfortunately, indicating that the city residents do not receive as much information as do the residents of other regions in Estonia.

Engineer A. Khaug asked the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee why the residents of Narva cannot always pick up Estonian television programs and those who do succeed in tuning their television sets to the right wave length cannot see the actual programs translated into Russian.

V. Vyalyas suggested that they handle this question democratically:

"There are television representatives at work in the hall. Let them respond to the criticism."

Estonian television correspondent K. Raud took the floor to say that this question is an old one but that the problem had been put off every year because there were no funds for a titration machine.

"How can one live in Estonia and not be interested in republic life?" A. Khaug asked when we talked with him. "We have people of diverse nationalities working here, but both the Estonians and the Russians are upset that they cannot pick up republic television. And what the comrade from television said about technical complications is not a valid argument. We could have a dual text the way they do in many other nations. An attachment could be bought and plugged into the television set, and one would hear the translation. And what about the newspapers? The number of copies of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, MOLODEZH ESTONII, RAKHVA KHYAEL and NOORTE KHYAEL last only 20 minutes at the stands, if that."

It is clear that we have an acute problem not just with respect to the study of the history of the Estonian language and familiarization with Estonian culture, but even with providing the people of Narva with the most

elementary information about what is happening in the republic. And this problem will have to be resolved as efficiently and promptly as possible if we want to establish mutual understanding among people of various nationalities on a qualitatively new basis.

During the meetings with the people of Narva V. Vyalyas pointed out the fact that the city does not even have a street named after prominent chess player Paul Keres, who was born in Narva. Few people know that Georg Ots was born in Narva.

When we talked with V. Malkovskiy, first secretary of the Narva party gorkom, he said that following his speech at the 11 Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, V. Vyalyas had suggested involving members of the republic's creative unions in teaching the people of Narva about Estonian culture. Agreement has already been reached, and specific ways have been outlined for training Estonian language instructors for city schools from among the local residents.

The Communists at the Central Municipal Hospital invited the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to attend their report-and-election meeting.

The report by V. Vorontsov, secretary of the hospital's shop party organization, contained not the mechanical reporting and conventionalism typical for the period of stagnation, but ideas imbued with concern for the fate of the restructuring and real militancy for his party organization. Harsh but fair and candid words were sometimes directed against party members who do not demonstrate initiative, who "are afraid" to remove their blinders and plunge into the battle for the restructuring. Even though the hospital party organization is in good standing, the secretary of the party Buro spoke primarily of deficiencies which need to be corrected. When the party was accepting members "wholesale" according to social extraction, there was a political campaign against illiteracy. But just what kind of sense does it make to conduct political classes and political briefings in the old way today, turning them into primitive lessons in political literacy? Would it not be better to discuss pressing problems of foreign and domestic policy on the contemporary level, one worthy of the modern intellectual?

Eight of the communists speaking at the meeting supported the party leader. They spoke about health care problems in the city, about the inadequate social protection for doctors, and about the inferior technical support for health care and the training of personnel.

But then, from the middle of the hall, a third speaker, V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, raised his hand and asked to speak. First of all, he asked the hospital Communists not to

consider his address an attempt at "moralizing" by a person who had returned to Estonia just 3 months before, after a long absence.

"Party prestige," V. Vyalyas said, "is more than just the prestige of the leadership. It is the prestige of each communist."

He thanked V. Vorontsov for a report based on principle, in the party manner, mentioned certain aspects of the life of the republic party organization and assured the communists-and-medical workers that the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party would devote close attention to the problem of public health in the republic, particularly the protection of motherhood and childhood, and to the resolution of ecological problems.

That same day V. Vyalyas met with secretaries of the city's primary party organizations and with members of the buro of the city party committee. Sharing his impressions of his visit, he mentioned the fact that the people of Narva understood the processes occurring in the republic and the problems raised at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

V. Vyalyas' trip around the northeastern part of the republic is over, but people in Kokhtla-Yarva and Narva will long remember these interesting meetings, which revealed many new things to the Communists and representatives of the labor collectives, helped them to gain a better understanding of decisions coming out of the 19th All-Union party conference and the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and a better grasp of the progression of the restructuring in the republic, and to perceive the close attention being given to it in our nation and abroad.

11499

#### **ESSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Draft Law on Public Demonstrations**

*18000069a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88 p 1*

[ETA report by K. Propst: "In the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] In the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium conferences were held with the chairmen of official bodies of the Supreme Soviet and their deputies, and similarly with the chairmen of rayon ispolkoms together with city ispolkoms subordinate to the republic.

At both conferences the chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, A. Ryuytel, talked about critical problems of life in Estonia. The deputy chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, M. Leosk, and the secretary of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V. Vakht, responded to questions.

A. Kiris, ESSR minister of justice, reported on a preliminary draft of the ukase of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium entitled "On Liability for Procedural Violations in Organizing and Conducting Gatherings, Meetings, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the ESSR." As previously reported, on 28 July of this year the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a ukase entitled "On Organizing and Conducting Gatherings, Meetings, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR." It also passed a ukase on the rights and duties of USSR MVD forces in preserving public order, and it produced corresponding changes in basic legislation of the USSR and of the union republics pertaining to administrative offenses and criminal liability. The Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the union republics were instructed to bring their legislation into conformity with the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 28 July 1988 and entitled "On the Introduction of Changes in Certain Legislative Acts of the USSR." The Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the other republics have already done so with the sole exception of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. On 25 August of this year the ukase in draft form was discussed at a meeting of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. But it was not passed. Why?

The chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, A. Ryuytel, informed the meeting of the opinions and proposals regarding the draft ukase which had been received from the deputies, local soviet ispolkoms, and the people of the republic. They were unanimous in maintaining that the procedures for conducting mass functions and liability for violations in regard to them should be determined by means of legislation. However, there was a difference of opinion expressed in regard to whether or not authorized procedures and liability for violations should be uniform throughout the republics. It was recognized that the penalties are unnecessarily severe, and that in our republic there is no need for the use of USSR MVD forces for the purpose of insuring public order in conducting mass social and political functions. For this reason the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium was unanimous in stating that the draft ukase is in need of further revision.

The deputies and chairman of the ispolkoms who took part in the meetings stressed the necessity of passing a standard act on mass functions which responded to the principle of the democratic development that has taken place in our republic. It is a fact that major mass events have taken place among us in which the voluntary people's patrols served no purpose whatever. The opinion was expressed that an ESSR law on mass functions should be passed following public discussion and at the initiative of the citizens. But this means publishing the draft law in the newspapers, so that each person living in the republic may express his opinion and make proposals regarding the draft. After this the draft is to be discussed at a meeting of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. The final determination on the draft law is to be made by the deputies at a session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

At both conferences the chairman of the ESSR Supreme Court, Ya. Kirikal, delivered a report on the unlawful deportation of citizens to special settlements in 1941 and in 1949, and on measures taken to make up for the acts of injustice that occurred. It was judged necessary for the government to revoke the following decrees of the ESSR Council of Ministers: Decree No. 014, dated 14 March 1949, "On the Expulsion of the Kulaks and Their Families From the ESSR"; Decree No. 015, dated 22 March 1949, "On the Expulsion of Kulak Families from the ESSR"; Decree No. 016, dated 23 March 1949, "On Procedures To Be Followed in Transferring Confiscated Kulak Farms to the Kolkhozes"; Decree No. 654, dated 30 August 1947, "On Taxation of Farmsteads in the ESSR" (an earlier version of Decree No. 393, dated 15 May 1950); together with Item No. 19 on the agenda as recorded in Minutes No. 26 of the decisions of the ESSR Council of Ministers, dated 20 May 1957, "On the Return of Property to Persons who Have Been Rehabilitated, Returned from Special Settlements, Granted Amnesty, and Removed From the List of Kulak Farms." Deputies and chairmen of ispolkoms expressed various opinions about how to compensate those who had suffered loss of property and morale. Scholars of Tartu University have begun to work out draft legislation containing a legal and political evaluation of the mass repressions that occurred in 1941 and 1949 in Estonia and also determining procedures for compensating persons who suffered from these crimes for losses incurred. A. Ryuytel underscored the necessity of accelerating the work on this legislation.

There has been much talk recently about the status of the Estonian language, and various opinions have been expressed. Persons present at the meeting unanimously maintained that it was essential for Estonians to have the guaranteed right of using their own language in the republic. For this purpose it was necessary to have the official status of the language written into the ESSR Constitution and for a language law to be passed. A. Ryuytel noted that a rough draft of such a language law had been prepared, and that a working group on the status of the Estonian language had begun work on its revision. All proposals received by the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium would be taken under consideration. The working group will then present its draft to the Commission for Legislation to Further the Democratization of Public Life of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The draft law, he said, will also be reviewed by the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. Following public discussion, the bill will be considered at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet. A. Ryuytel emphasized that state language status had been written into the constitutions of the GeSSR, AzSSR, and ArSSR only, and that even there no language laws were in effect. There must therefore be no hurry in preparing the draft law. It was his duty to insure the primacy of the Estonian language, but at the same time not to permit a limitation in the use of any other language.

The conferences also discussed problems arising in connection with cost accounting in the republic; preparations for the forthcoming session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet; halting unauthorized migration; and the use of national symbols. The need was recognized to hold regular meetings of the chairmen of official bodies of the Supreme Soviet and their deputies, and similarly with chairmen of the ispolkoms and the republic leadership.

At the conference with ispolkom chairmen, speeches were given by G. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, and by A. Soydla, first deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers. Participating also in the conference were A. B. Upsi, secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, and E. Matt, business manager of the ESSR Council of Ministers.

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**ESSR Buro Chides Press on Nationalities Issue Coverage**

*18000069b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Excerpt] One of the unresolved issues left to us as a legacy of past decades is that of relations between nationalities. This issue was reaffirmed in a resolution passed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

In the context of a national republic, all mistakes and unfinished work in economic affairs, culture, science, or environmental protection are inevitably attributed to international relations. One may become easily convinced of this by taking as an example the situation in recent years in Estonia.

Democratization, along with the development of glasnost and principles of socialist pluralism, have led to an increased role by the press in shaping public opinion in general and in dealing with issues of national policy in particular.

On 20 September the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro at a regular session discussed how issues of national policy and international relations are being covered in republic newspapers.

In addition to members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro, newspaper editors and scholars addressed the meeting. The discussions served to emphasize that issues of international relations like no others demand of the mass media an extraordinarily considerate, tactful, and balanced approach, and at the same time open and direct discourse, including coverage of the most sensitive aspects. Some of the publications managed to reorganize, and a number of interesting and substantial articles appeared; others, and especially the

Russian-language press, procrastinated in approaching this subject and lost time. SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, despite an in-depth analysis of international relations in December of last year, went through a rather protracted period of uncertainty following the joint plenum of creative unions, along with other Russian-language periodical publications. There was enough of this hesitation for various rumors to crop up, further influenced by a tossing about from one extreme to another in certain publications printed in Estonian. In some publications the friendship of peoples was extolled; in others the coverage focused exclusively on shortcomings and distortions of national policy, leading to national injustice. There were violations of ethical principle in the coverage of international relations by certain of the mass media.

The Buro acknowledged that the position and role of the party committees during this period, including that of the Estonian CP Central Committee, had not always been consistent and in accordance with principle.

Journalists, as they acquired experience, began to delve more deeply into the heart of these problems and to draw more extensively upon historians, sociologists, party workers, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia in their coverage.

An insufficient amount of theoretical training of the journalists themselves in international relations, however, was probably a contributing factor in the appearance of a number of articles in youth publications that were not conducive to consolidating the Estonian and Russian-speaking populations. The articles further attest to the absence of a clear point of view on the part of these publications by which to judge social phenomena.

The Buro urged editors and journalists to continue to elucidate for their readers the proceedings of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the 11th plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee, and issues of cultural as well as national policy in the area of international affairs; and, further, to make it their objective to assist in improving these relations and in consolidating the various ethnic groups in the republic population. It is necessary to broaden cooperation between Estonian and Russian-language publications and improve all mass media with trained experts in international relations. The newspapers should reflect in an efficient and balanced manner all significant trends occurring in the republic.

It was further recommended to the communists on the Board of the Union of ESSR Union of Journalists that they consider the possibility of training journalists and translators for Russian-language publications in joint cooperation with Tartu State University.

### Working Group on Status of Estonian Language Issues Recommendations

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian  
9 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report entitled: "From the Working Group on the Status of Estonian Language Issues of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] On October 4th and 6th, the working group on the status of Estonian language issues discussed the initial fundamental principles of the language laws. The group came to the following conclusions:

- The adoption of a concise, precisely formulated article in the Constitution of the Estonian SSR which fixes the status of the Estonian language as the official state language is considered necessary. A detailed text of the language law which was called for to regulate the use of the Estonian language, as well as other languages, will supplement the article;
- The language law should defend the Estonian language and at the same time give people who do not have command of the Estonian language an opportunity to participate fully in all aspects of public life;
- The language law should guarantee that business is conducted in the whole territory of the Estonian SSR in the Estonian language. The Estonian language shall be the language which is used in drawing up the government documents of the Estonian SSR. The official language of institutions, enterprises and organizations, as a rule, shall be Estonian. Correspondence between institutions shall be conducted in Estonian and correspondence with addressees which are located outside of Estonia's borders shall be conducted in the language which the parties have agreed upon;
- In institutions, enterprises and organizations where, in view of the national composition of the workers or the linguistic situation which exists in the region, the transition to conducting business in the Estonian language at the present time is impossible (for example in Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamyaeh, at certain plants which are subordinate to the USSR, etc.) it is necessary to make exceptions in the following manner:
  1. The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers shall establish a period of time during which the transition to conducting business in the Estonian language should occur, or
  2. Special permission shall be given to conduct business in Russian or some other language. The period of validity of this permission shall be established with regard to specific conditions. Moreover, institutions, enterprises and organizations which have received permission to conduct business in other languages should ensure the capability for citizens to communicate with them in the Estonian language

and to issue citizens documents in Estonian. They are obligated to give official documents which have been translated into Estonian to those of their workers who desire them;

—in organizations which are operating under the rights of cultural autonomy, as well as in child welfare institutions and educational institutions not having Estonian as the language of instruction, the official language is the language of the appropriate nationality. The presence of at least one worker who has command of the Estonian language should be guaranteed.

Managers of child welfare and educational institutions should have command of the language of instruction;

—workers in institutions, enterprises and organizations where the Estonian language is used should have sufficient command of Russian and other languages to be able to provide service to individuals who appeal to them and do not have command of the Estonian language. Moreover, the national composition of the corresponding region as well as the nature of the work and business contacts should be taken into account (for example, command of the Lettish language as well by workers in certain institutions in the city Valga, command of foreign languages by workers in travel bureaus, etc.).

In implementing the aforementioned conditions, the working group recommends establishing a list of professions and positions which require a compulsory command of the Estonian and Russian languages at least. This list should include those in charge of workers, as well as workers in medical institutions, agencies for protecting public order, enterprises for consumer services, trade and communications and other spheres in which it is frequently necessary to associate with the citizens.

For individuals who work in the aforementioned spheres and who for the time being do not have a sufficient command of the Estonian language, a specific time for mastering the language should be established after creating conditions for learning it.

A separate list of specialties which do not directly require the command of several languages (including foreign languages also) should be compiled, but command of several languages bestows the right to receive increased wages.

The language law shall not regulate the question of which language should be used in the mutual business contacts of an individual which are not included in the category of being in charge of workers. It was recommended to proceed from the principle that the leader accept the subordinate's language.

All languages must be permitted for the citizens' relations among themselves.

The law should guarantee the availability in the whole territory of the Estonian SSR of a secondary, special and higher education which is received in the Estonian Language and the opportunity to receive an education in the Russian language.

State support should also be provided to other national groups in the matter of them receiving an education in their native language.

In general education schools where the language of instruction is some other language, the study of Estonian language should be intensified.

An opportunity to study the Estonian language should be provided to residents who do not have a command of this language, especially in those institutions, enterprises and organizations which have been permitted to conduct business in another language.

The law should ensure the preservation of individuals' first names, family names and geographic names in Estonia. It should provide for the marking of goods in the Estonian language. It is necessary to define more precisely the requirements regarding the languages of signs, stamps forms, etc.

The working group feels that the aforementioned principles should serve as a basis during the drawing up of the legal text of the language laws. After consideration by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, a draft of the language law will be submitted to the people for discussion. After this, the law will be adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

The following comrades are members of the working group: chairperson—Ehnn Pyldroos, assistant chairpersons—Vladimir Byeehkman and Khenn Saari, secretary—Ehva Viyra, group members—Valeriy Bezzybov, Ferdinand Ehysen, Ignar Fyuk, Mati Khint, Kalyo Kiysk, Paul Kokla, Sulev Kont, Tiit Kyabin, Lennart Meri, Lyudmila Mikhaylova, Nina Mikheyeva, Kheli Myartin, Valder Pall, Paul-Ehehrik Rumm, Reyn Ruutsoo, Toyvo Sikk, Ehndel Veskimyaeh and Ehduard Vyaehri.

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#### Estonian 'Intermovement' Issues Manifesto Criticizing Popular Front Program

'General Concept' Paper Drafted  
*18000099 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 12 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by the Coordination Council of the Internationalist Movement of Workers of the Estonian SSR: "General Concept of the Internationalist Movement of Workers of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] Under conditions of perestroyka, arousing popular initiative which results in the creation of various socio-political movements and organizations is natural.

In the ESSR today, the Popular Front, the "Greens" Movement, the Society for the Protection of Old Relics and Monuments, the Society of Enlightenment, the 'Intermovement,' and others can be included in these organizations. A component part of awakening public awareness is intensifying the national consciousness of the peoples of the USSR, above all the small nationalities. This is apparent in the examples of the Armenian SSR, the Kazakh SSR or the Baltic republics, and a number of autonomous republics and oblasts.

This phenomenon is expressed in the programs of these movements and organizations. Here it is not easy to explain the extremes and tinges of nationalism and even national extremism: apparently, such extremes are inevitable in the initial stages after an extended forced suppression of national self-consciousness.

It is natural that socio-political, general democratic, and purely national goals are interwoven, underlying the programs, declarations and other documents being proposed by the leaders of these socio-political organizations.

The General Program of the Estonian Popular Front can be given as an example of such a program. In addition to general democratic demands reflecting the interests of all nationality groups living in Estonia, it also contains provisions which reflect only the national interests of the native population of the republic. For the reasons stated above, some of these provisions go beyond the framework of general democratic internationalist requirements of observing the interests of all nations and are at variance with the basic general democratic content of this document. The danger arises that under these conditions the Popular Front will be turned into a nationality movement—a nationality front of the Estonian people. This has partly already taken place.

Thus, the Popular Front consciously or unconsciously is departing from its proclaimed principle that "the basic goal of the Popular Front is to foster in the people consciousness, political culture and civic activeness, and create a mechanism of democracy in order to assist in creating a society, built on truly people's rule and a balanced economy, in which all human rights are guaranteed."

In addition, in solving the nationalities question in the ESSR, in the opinion of the Internationalist Movement (ID), the Popular Front does not take into account the historically established demographic realities on the republic's territory, in the formation of which the cadre policy of a number of republic ministries and departments (ESSR Ministry of Construction, ESSR Ministry of Light Industry, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and others), with connivance of the leadership of the Estonian SSR, played by no means a small role.

We should also remember that the original meaning of the concept of the Popular Front, which emerged for the first time in France in 1935, assumes combining various social and political movements with different platforms united by a single common goal.

Under our conditions, apparently, this goal should be considered the struggle for restructuring the Soviet society based on the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A movement which has proclaimed this struggle as its goal might be considered a nationwide movement; however, individual points in the draft program of the Popular Front reflect the interests of only the native portion of the Estonia's population. This has led to the fact that many population groups, above all the Russian-speaking population of Estonia, have not and will not be able to consider this program entirely their own. Naturally, the increasing civic and socio-political activeness of this portion of the population is also looking for an outlet, but owing to the above-mentioned reasons is finding it in the creation of independent movements, chronologically the first of which was the Internationalist Movement of Workers of the ESSR.

With such an existing, we are convinced, unnatural and unfounded division of democratic forces on the basis of nationality, the 'Intermovement' may turn out to be by no means the last socio-political organization among the Russian-speaking portion of the population of Estonia (right up to the formation of chauvinistic and extremist organizations).

One thing that is clear is that this division of the people on the basis of nationality hampers achieving the common goal—perestroika in the USSR based on the decisions of the 19th Party Conference.

Therefore, 'Intermovement' emphasizes that its participants see more in common with the Popular Front program than differences, and these differences concern primarily questions of the nationalities policy.

Without a doubt, the ID supports the just demands of the Estonian people, including the demand to create a sovereign union republic as part of the USSR; however, it is against infringing in any form on the interests of the non-native population on the territory of the ESSR. To this end, the ID proposes reorganizing the ESSR Supreme Soviet by creating a bicameral structure: a Soviet of Representatives and a Soviet of Nationalities, in which both the native and non-native population would be represented by an equal number of deputies, and each of these groups will have the right of veto.

The ID supports the Popular Front's proposal on introducing republic citizenship. In doing so, the citizens of the ESSR must be full-fledged citizens of the USSR, fulfilling their duty to the union republic, including their

military duty in the ranks of the Soviet Army. Specific questions of the functioning of the Soviet Army come under the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Ministry of Defense.

Estonian citizenship must be granted to all USSR citizens having a permanent residence or permanent work on the territory of the ESSR. In so doing, any other criteria (for example, residential qualification, loyalty, fluency in some language, nationality, and so forth) are absolutely unacceptable.

The ID is not in principle against granting the Estonian language the status of the state language on the territory of the ESSR, while ensuring practical bilingualism in those spheres of activities for whose workers bilingualism is mandatory and for which the Russian language must also be given the status of the state language as the language of communication between nationalities in the USSR.

However, considering that the juridical, legal, ethical, economic, and socio-political prerequisites and consequences of introducing one or several state languages in a national republic are unclear at the present moment, immediate and final determination of the issue today is premature and can lead to unpredictable consequences. Therefore, the ID proposes by 1 January 1989 to develop a long-term state comprehensive program for studying the Estonian and Russian languages on the territory of the Estonian SSR, as well as the Estonian culture and the history of the Estonian people and other peoples of the USSR, which would involve the scientific and creative forces of the republic. Over the course of 3 years it is necessary to ensure practical bilingualism for all workers whose activities are directly associated with the population. Insufficient knowledge of either of the two languages by workers of all ranks in these spheres of activities would be considered an indication of not conforming to the position occupied. This proposal assumes granting through state resources an opportunity for these workers to master practical bilingualism.

However, the 'Intermovement' is against applying the requirement to have a command of two languages to deputies of any level and elective party workers, since this requirement would actually infringe on the rights of citizens and CPSU members granted respectively by the ESSR Constitution and CPSU Rules, inasmuch as a significant part of the republic's population (about one-half in all) of Estonian as well as other nationalities does not have a command of either the Estonian or Russian language.

The ID is opposed to such discrimination being applied to the hundreds of thousands of residents of areas of the south, northeast and islands of the Estonian SSR. For the most part, these are the workers and peasants of the republic.

The ID insists on creating all conditions for the development of other national cultures on the territory of the ESSR and popularizing these cultures among other population groups.

The ID believes that observing glasnost and political pluralism and creating equal opportunities for all social movements, organizations and individuals to express their views in the mass media and by other methods to be an indispensable condition, as long as it is not at variance with the ESSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution.

Supporting the multitude of forms of ownership in the stage of socialist construction of the society, 'Intermovement' is against transferring large and medium-size state enterprises to individuals. Based on the experience of socialist countries which have preserved elements of private enterprise in the structure of their economy, it is necessary to develop a clear concept for developing private enterprise and for concentrating as much as possible the means of production in the hands of private owners and an appropriate taxation system.

The ID proposes, taking into account the amendments to the Popular Front program outlined above, to work up a unified democratic movement program in the ESSR which can be implemented both within the framework of the Popular Front, having given its program an internationalist content, and within the framework of another association, let us say, a congress of democratic forces of the Estonian SSR in the struggle for perestroyka.

The ID considers it necessary for itself to conduct discussions and negotiate with any organizations and movements, and also to cooperate with all socio-political organizations whose activities are not at variance with the ESSR Constitution.

The 'Intermovement' is convinced that elimination of these contradictions between the nationality groups in the Estonian SSR is the main task at this moment for all forces concerned with perestroyka and considers it desirable to unite with other organizations, right up to abandoning its own organizational independence.

The Coordination Council of the Internationalist Movement of Workers of the Estonian SSR.

#### Party Daily Responds

18000099 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 12 Oct 88 p 3

[Editorial: "If We Proceed from Realities"]

[Text] Axioms are the principle of principles in mathematics—the minimum sum total of propositions which are accepted without proof, so to speak, on faith because

they are self-evident. Before analyzing the "General Concept of the Internationalist Movement of Workers of the Estonian SSR," we must agree on the axiomatic basis.

It is probably based on historical realities. The first is this: The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic exists, one of the 15 union republics which constitutionally are sovereign states, down to the right to leave the USSR. This constitutional provision, not sufficiently reinforced legislatively, as a result of the deliberate and intelligent violation of Lenin's principles of a socialist federation during the period of Stalinism, was brought to nothing by sharply limiting the authority of the union republics and rigid centralization of control.

The economy is the principle of principles in the life of any state. If a state is not in charge of its own economy, there can be no talk about sovereignty. However, sovereignty of the economy is impossible without sovereignty of state power. According to Lenin's principles, the union republics delegate two functions to the competence of central organs of the USSR—defense and foreign policy. All the rest are their responsibility.

The second reality: As a result of a correct or incorrect (although it is quite clear that it is incorrect, but that is not the point right now) policy, the once virtually single-nationality Estonia was turned into a republic in which the percentage of the population which the native nationality comprised has steadily declined and entire regions were formed which are excluded from the sphere of influence of the Estonian language and Estonian culture. Unquestionably, if it expands, the trend threatens to turn into a national catastrophe.

The third reality: There is no realistic, reasonable alternative to the policy of perestroika taken by the CPSU. Only by following this policy is it possible to solve that entire group of problems in all areas of life which our society has "managed" to accumulate in almost 7 decades.

The fourth reality: It is simplest to reject. It is much more difficult to look for and find constructive solutions. It is simplest to praise your own solution and criticize "another's." But is this the path which leads to the goal? Especially if the proclaimed goal is a common goal.

The Popular Front has been formed in our republic and is on the point of being registered officially—a democratic movement of the masses in support of perestroika. But the same constitution is claimed by another movement—the Internationalist Movement [ID]—proclaiming the same goals.

If we compare today's program document of the ID with the one we discussed several months ago, it must be said in all fairness that there is a great distance between them. Much ground has been covered toward understanding the realities and realizing the need for unity of forces

actually concerned with perestroika and struggling for it. But there also remain thresholds of misunderstanding, thresholds of fear, thresholds of old notions. It is not easy to step over them, and help from the side is especially needed here. Help, not opposition, but also not compromise.

The first four paragraphs of this document do not raise any special objections, other than perhaps one clause which tries to explain the emergence of extremes and tinges of nationalism and even national extremism. The authors of the concept forgot about one aspect: Arousing the national self-consciousness of small peoples "after extended forced suppression" evokes the desire to maintain the status quo among the part of the population which up to this time was "first among equals." It is always an honor and flattering to be first, but it is always painful and seems undeserved to give up these positions. Thus, for the sake of objectivity, this very important characteristic should be added to the picture.

The following paragraph is devoted to criticizing the "General Program of the Popular Front." We have no areas beyond criticism, and the program of the Popular Front is no exception to this rule. However, in order to understand this criticism, let us analyze the situation in somewhat greater depth.

According to a report of the credentials committee of the founding congress of the Popular Front, 90 percent of the participants in this movement are Estonians; their representation at the congress was even higher—95 percent. Consequently, there is something that is scaring away a fairly significant part of the republic's population from the movement. Where do the reasons lie? One of the reasons has already been cited—it is that same first place among equals. But it seems that it is by no means the only reason and not even the main one. The main reason was brought out in the ID concept, although not entirely accurately—there is a fear (not yet a danger) that the Popular Front will be turned into a nationality front instead of a popular front. This fear is scaring away a significant part of the non-Estonian population away from it. How real is it? Deplorable as it may be, some of the speeches by active figures in the Popular Front and even some of their actions provide grounds for this. We will not recall the two "fiery speeches" given at Pevcheskiy Field which were publicly condemned by the leadership of the Popular Front. But the point is that at the congress, by the way, it was said that a people less than a million strong does not need a million-strong capital and, if need be, the people will state their desires and aspirations by 900,000 mouths. Consequently, 600,000 people were automatically excluded from this people. The who is understood. Of course, these were the personal opinions of those speaking, and the entire movement cannot bear the responsibility for them. But, you see, no one spoke out against them. If the Popular Front is a popular front, why must all its participants speak under the Estonian national colors? The point is, as the closing ceremony of the congress there were only three

blue-black-and-white flags on the stage. There were no others, not even the national colors of the Latvians and Lithuanians who also live in the republic.

Perhaps these are all small details. But in politics, small details sometimes determine the course of major events. And after eliminating these small details and thinking more carefully about how its word affects the entire population of Estonia, the Popular Front has the chance to change sharply its nationality composition, with which it should be vitally concerned. But, you see, all this also applies to the 'Intermovement.' Many of its words and deeds up to now have also hurt and outraged Estonians, as well as many non-Estonians. The point is, its nationality composition does not shine as being all-embracing, despite its name.

The ID charges that the Popular Front "does not take into account the historically established demographic realities on the republic's territory, in the formation of which the cadre policy of a number of republic ministries and departments..., with connivance of the leadership of the Estonian SSR, played by no means a small role." Seemingly, this is all correct. But it is just that the 'Intermovement' also rejects those realities which do not suit it. For example, the fact that this very cadre policy and the actions of the ESSR leadership were not a free choice under conditions of a rigidly centralized (we would reiterate) administrative-command system. They were imposed by the rules of the overall game, and a violation of these rules was severely punished. It is sufficient only to recall the Eighth Central Committee Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party in 1950. As far as the active champions of this policy are concerned, no one is relieving them of the blame.

The demographic realities remain realities. In this respect, the Popular Front has taken a giant step forward, compared to some ideas of the joint plenum of creative unions of the republic. To see this, it is sufficient only to read carefully the resolution of the congress on the attitude towards migration. But one also cannot help but realize that the existing demographic situation developed as a result of the infringement of certain rights and interests of the Estonians, above all, that same right to a sovereign state. The just demand for the creation of a sovereign union republic as part of the USSR, which is supported by the ID, demands not the infringement of the interests of the non-native population but the restoration of rights to the native population. Why must it be assumed that the rights of non-Estonians will automatically be infringed? The documents of the congress of the Popular Front and, moreover, the materials of the 11th Central Committee Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party do not provide cause for this.

The proposal on a bicameral Supreme Soviet which is contained in the ID concept was stated at the forum of peoples of Estonia and, probably, merits further discussion, not to decide whether to give someone priority, but in order to take into account more completely all interests in making state decisions.

It is good to hear that the ID agrees with the proposal on introducing republic citizenship. But the good provision is accompanied by a generally correct but, in this context, a strange sounding stipulation that specific questions of the functioning of the Soviet Army come under jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Ministry of Defense. If we are to be consistent (and everyone understands what is behind this stipulation—the Popular Front's provision on creating territorial units and on inductees from Estonia spending their term of service on the territory of the republic and also protests made at the Popular Front congress against the lack of ecological control of military units on the territory of the ESSR), we must remember that, first of all, the institution of territorial large units of the Soviet Army is no innovation, but a well forgotten old idea. It is forgotten namely as a result of the rigidly centralized system. And national units also gave a pretty good showing during the years of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. Secondly, questions of ecology cannot be subordinate to anyone's narrow departmental interests, otherwise we will all perish even with the strongest army. Thirdly, the union republics, in the person of their supreme bodies of state power, have the constitutional right of legislative initiative and can raise any question before the USSR Supreme Soviet. Thus, it is not a matter of the republic's Supreme Soviet making a decision, but of raising a question before competent bodies of the country. Fourthly, it is no longer possible to close our eyes to a situation in which is the result of a lack of public control of the army and its being closed to glasnost.

As far as criteria for granting citizenship are concerned, here there exist international law and historical experience which provide examples for a possible solution to this problem. So far, jurists have not submitted a single serious draft for public discussion; therefore, it is unreliable speculation to frighten people with some criteria which may emerge and serves to exaggerate that same fear.

In principle, the same can also be said about a state language. As we know, in the USSR there is no single constitutionally established state language. The RSFSR also does not have one yet. Granting Estonia the right to be the first to consider Russian as the state language on its territory sounds at least strange coming from the authors of the ID concept. These authors, likewise, simply do not understand—and the same goes for a significant portion of the republic's population—what a state language is and what its functions are. It appears that publication of the materials of the working group of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet would clarify much here and relieve many fears. Based on the realities of the multinationality makeup of the republic's population, a language for communicating between nationalities is needed, and this is not denied in any of the Popular Front's documents, not to mention state documents. This is a question of a law which "must ensure

protection of the Estonian language, at the same time granting people who do not have a command of the Estonian language the opportunity to participate fully in public life."

The ID concept recognizes the need for practical bilingualism of all workers whose activities are directly associated with the population. It is likely that this problem can be solved in the next few years only with involvement of the state. But why does the ID demand that deputies of any levels or elective party leaders be excluded from the list of these workers. Does the ID believe that these people have nothing to communicate to the population, or does it suspect that these categories of people are so incapable of being taught that they would not be able to learn a second language? We can assume that the concept is talking about the present moment, but the point is that other workers involved with the population also need time to master a second language. Thus, the stipulation is clearly unfounded. It can be assumed that in determining the procedure for implementing a law on language, a time period will be stipulated for learning a second language. As far as discrimination of workers and peasants is concerned here, when they become deputies or party workers, they also begin to be classified as public figures, for whom bilingualism is necessary for successful fulfillment of their duties.

We also cannot ignore what the ID stresses when examining economic questions, particularly ownership. The concept of cost-accounting of Estonia, even when read most cautiously, gives no reason to assume that all large and medium-size enterprises will be transferred to private individuals. The country already has experience in leasing enterprises to labor collectives, but this does not change the form of ownership, and it is difficult to equate a labor collective to a private individual. Where the fear comes from is still unclear. It is probably from statements made by some irresponsible, to put it mildly, individuals. But we would reiterate, there is no such demand in any known wording of the document.

A cliche of the past bothers us most of all in the process of democratization which has unfolded: There are two opinions, mine and the wrong one. They picture perestroika in this way: Whereas before my opinion was considered wrong, now it is all the other way round. But both of these are very far from democracy, from a true pluralism of opinions. Hence the concluding proposal of the ID, expressed in rather categorical form: If the Popular Front would accept the amendments to the program outlined by the ID, it could combine forces and work up a unified democratic movement. Maybe it would have been more tactful to act differently: propose a joint discussion of these amendments and sift out the weed from the seed, recognizing that "my" opinion may not be the truth in the last instance.

Calm discussion without the heat of emotions and where common sense and aspiration for a common goal prevail over differences, reasonable compromise on those questions which are raised by a real difference of interests of

the various population groups, rejecting reciprocal unfounded accusations—this is the path which, to all appearances, can lead to success.

And the final objection to the authors of the ID concept: It is hard to agree that the main task at this moment is the elimination of these contradictions between the nationality groups. The main task is to advance perestroika, and do so as quickly as possible. As our society develops economically, politically and culturally, these contradictions will also be eliminated, which does not mean that we must sit by and wait for this. We simply must not dramatize—these contradictions are not the main ones. They are the result, but not the cause. We first must treat the causes. And we still must not forget: contradictions are a dialectical category. We solve some, and new ones crop up. We must not be afraid of this. This is life.

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#### Latvian Popular Front Holds Constituent Conference

**Gorbunov Speaks at Rally for Conference**  
18000110 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
9 Oct 88 pp 3,4

[LATINFORM report on concert and rally in Riga on 7 October in support of Latvian Popular Front constituent conference: "In Support of a Legal State"]

[Text] Thousands of inhabitants of Riga and of other cities and rayons in the republic gathered together on 7 October in the Mezhapark open-air theater. The rally and concert were organized in connection with the upcoming constituent conference of the Latvian Popular Front, Constitution Day, and the establishment of a legal state.

The night before this huge demonstration took place, all of Latvia, as Academician Ya. Stradyn told the crowd, had participated with bated breath in the work of a session of the republic Supreme Soviet, where the issues of the most vital importance to us were being discussed—the future of the rural community, the future of the Latvian language, and the cultural and historical symbols of the Latvian people.

The atmosphere of the free exchange of opinions at the forum of deputies was also present at this demonstration. The first speech was presented by the man elected at the session to serve as chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, A.V. Gorbunov.

"I have come here, like all of you, for some intense thinking and action. A few days ago I had a long conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev. I want you to know that the leader of our state is in fine form. The reason for our meeting was my nomination for the position of chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet

Presidium. The tone and content of our talk surprised me and made me happy, and I will repeat Gorbachev's own words to you in brief: Let us not think about our respective seats and positions; let us think about our state instead. I frankly told him about our republic's problems and he was sympathetic and supportive. And late last night, as fate would have it, I signed a decision of the highest republic government body for the first time.

"You are undoubtedly interested in my plans for the future. I want to discuss just a few basic principles. I will strive for genuine democracy and will do everything within my power to avert friction between the government and the people.

"Along with my colleagues, I intend to see that real forms of democracy are implemented, primarily in the Supreme Soviet of our republic. I want the meetings of our deputies to be seen and heard by anyone who wishes, as yesterday's session was. If necessary, and I think that these cases will arise, sessions of the Supreme Soviet will be held in the Political Enlightenment Center of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia so that representatives of the general public can attend them freely, and not only attend them but also take part in them.

"Bills concerning the public interest will always be submitted to the public for discussion before the deputies meet to make decisions on them. I could go on, of course, because after all, I am discussing forms of democratic expression which, in my opinion, are extremely important, however simple they might seem. Democracy is an extremely important factor, no matter what form it takes. But you are well aware that the content of our work is equally important.

"Yesterday we passed a law on the Latvian rural community. The deputies unanimously granted the Latvian language official status as our state language. The Supreme Soviet unanimously expressed approval of our national symbols. I might make just one brief comment in this connection. When these decisions were made, the Russian deputies and the deputies of other nationalities not only voted for them but were also highly ethical during the discussion of draft decrees, especially in connection with Latvian national symbols.

"In my opinion, all of us must display the same kind of respect now, when we look into the details of the session's decisions. And the most important thing is to display the same kind of understanding when we implement these decisions and formulate our demands in the future, and we must strive to do this as much as possible in matters concerning the interests of other nationalities as well. We want people of all nationalities to live happily in Latvia, without any feelings of insecurity.

"Of course, we must ask ourselves how this is to be accomplished. I think the first topic of discussion should be the economic and political autonomy of the republic, its sovereignty, and the ways of securing regional economic accountability and the status of the citizen of the republic. Current migration processes are hurting people of all nationalities living in our republic. The government must stop these processes without delay. The Supreme Soviet will guarantee all inhabitants of the republic constitutional rights and will be accountable to its citizens.

"All of us, however, must realize one important fact. When the Supreme Soviet makes decisions on economic, social, cultural, and other important issues, it will have to assign priority to the national interests of the native nationality—the Latvians—and not only as a matter of ethics but also because of practical and, I would even say, natural considerations. Latvia is the first and only land where Latvians can satisfy and develop their national interests and be a people. The failure to observe these seemingly simple and self-evident principles would cause friction in inter-ethnic relations.

"I must speak briefly about the Popular Front. Each thinking member of the Popular Front and each active deputy will soon realize that the goals and even the forms of their work are similar. The Popular Front can only strengthen our popular government.

"I also want to say that we must express our specific feelings about all of the inhabitants of our republic. Above all, we must express our feelings about clergymen, who are now adhering strictly to a course of action aimed at our collective participation in the implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"Although I have the deepest respect for the older generation, our fathers and mothers, and especially our grandmothers and grandfathers, I would nevertheless like to express the greatest faith in our youth. Avant-gardeism is essential in revolutionary renewal, and I think that today's young people have enough of this quality. From the moral standpoint, it would be wrong to ask members of the older generation to clear away all of the obsolete accretions of our life, even if they were present at the birth of these accretions in their youth, in their prime. And after all, are our young people not leading the most important campaign in the protection of life on earth—the protection of the environment?

"We cannot constantly tell workers and peasants to do better work. All of us, including the intelligentsia, must take the blame if their work is sometimes ineffective. We are responsible for organizing the work, and we are therefore also responsible for its results. This is why a priority role for the intelligentsia is one of the real necessities of our life. I am saying all of this to underscore the fact that Latvia needs all of us equally, and perhaps more now than ever before. We must be more

earnest and more intelligent than we were yesterday. And let this realization give us strength and give our people and our republic stronger faith in the future."

The demonstrators welcomed the head of the highest government body in Latvia with applause and huge bouquets of flowers.

Taking turns at the microphone, many prominent representatives of the Latvian public addressed the gathering that day—poetess M. Zalite, artist D. Skulme, journalists M. Volfson, D. Ivans, and A. Tsirulis, Chairman Ya. Lutsans of the Komunars Agricultural Combine in Limbazhskiy Rayon, republic Komsomol leader I. Priyeditis, veteran athlete V. Baltinsh, war veteran V. Krumins, and other Latvians as well as guests from Lithuania and Estonia.

After commenting on the positive changes perestroika had made in social life, they spoke heatedly about such pressing problems as the diktat of central agencies, the alienation of peasants from the land, the slow reconstruction of some episodes in Latvian history, the non-observance of civil rights and the principle of social justice, the violations of the ecological balance, the unfair distribution of products, the unjustified recruitment of outside manpower, and many others. The republic leaders of the period of stagnation were pointedly criticized.

The final speech at the gathering was presented by Ya. Peters, chairman of the board of the Latvian SSR Union of Writers. He said that his election as chairman of the organizing committee for the constituent conference of the Latvian Popular Front was a great honor, a serious responsibility, and a source of great happiness. Then he went on: "I want to say that flags, 'God Bless Latvia,' and the liberty monument are all fine and legal, but I would like to warn all of you not to leave all of this on the cosmetic level. When we realize what lies at the basis of everything—economics—our people, our land, and our state will become truly independent. Then we will be represented in the federation in the capacity Lenin foresaw in this theoretically free federation." Ya. Peters thanked everyone who had contributed money that day for the financial assistance of the descendants of the victims of Hitlerism and Stalinism.

The demonstration lasted until late in the evening. A choir consisting of more than 200 amateur and professional groups from all of the republic's rayons and cities sang Latvian folk songs and works by Latvian composers under a canopy of red, white, and red flags.

The demonstration was attended by First Secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, Chairman V-E.G. Bresis of the republic Council of Ministers, Second Secretary V.P. Sobolev of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Latvia, secretaries A.P. Bril and Ya.Ya. Okherin of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, and other party and soviet personnel.

**Buro Chief Vagris Addresses Conference**  
*18000110 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*9 Oct 88 pp 1, 4*

[LATINFORM report on first day of constituent conference of Latvian Popular Front in Riga on 8 October]

[Text] On 8 October the constituent conference of the Latvian Popular Front began its work in the Political Enlightenment Center of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia. More than a thousand delegates gathered in two auditoriums—the Major Hall and the Minor Hall. Guests from other republics and regions in the country and fellow-countrymen from abroad are attending the conference. The conference is being covered by more than 200 Soviet and foreign journalists.

The conference was called to order by Latvian Red Marksman and Folk Artist of the Latvian SSR Evalds Valters. He began his message to the delegates with these words: "My dear, my brave nation of plowmen! We want to be the masters of our own land, we want to make the laws in our own land, we do not want to have to ask for what is rightfully ours. This is our land. This idea inspired the Latvian marksmen in battles for the revolution. We shed our blood for the freedom of Latvia. Lenin knew this. Latvia became a sovereign state. I believe that this long night will end soon and daybreak will come again." The veteran wished the conference success and expressed the hope that the Popular Front would help the Latvian people retrieve their lost property and establish a legal state. "We want this with all our hearts," he concluded.

The conference elected mandate, editorial, and accounting commissions.

A report was presented by Yanis Peters, chairman of the board of the Latvian Union of Writers. He spoke of the need to consolidate all forces in support of perestroika, of the native population's problems, wishes, and rights, and of the interests of people of all nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic. "Personal and group disagreements over specific problems," he said, "should be forgotten for the time being. The main thing now is to strengthen the unity of the entire population of Latvia, the Latvian people, and the Baltic nationalities in order to solve the most important problems of perestroika—to change the economic, social, ecological, and demographic situations. We are all citizens of the Latvian SSR, even though our citizens' status has not been defined yet," Yanis Peters stressed. He asked everyone present to become actively involved in the struggle for the goals and objectives of the Latvian Popular Front. (Peters' report will be published in full in the next issue of the newspaper.)

Reports on inter-ethnic relations, problems in republic cost accounting, the establishment of a legal state, and other important aspects of the Popular Front program were presented by writer Marina Kostenetskaya, Academician Arnis Kalnins, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Arkadiy Vaksberg, Chairman of the Komunars Agricultural Combine Yanis Lutsans, LGU [Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchka] Professor and Doctor of Geographic Sciences Guntis Eberhards, LGU Professor and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Edgars Melkisis, journalist Vladimir Steshenko, Master of Theology Juris Rubenis, LGU Docent and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Peteris Lakis, and chairman of the unofficial Popular Front Ints Tsalitis.

The conference passed a resolution on the creation of the Latvian Popular Front.

First Secretary Yanis Vagris of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia addressed the conference. He said:

"Respected delegates and guests of the conference of the Latvian Popular Front!

"Fellow-countrymen! Let us congratulate ourselves on the creation of the Latvian Popular Front.

"We can confidently say that today we are being watched not only by the people of our country. Many people in the republic, in the country, and outside our country are wondering what will happen at the first conference of the Popular Front. What kind of decisions will it make? What kind of changes will it make in our life?

"There are some people who feel skeptical. They think we will get caught up in petty disagreements and will use up all of our energy and passion not on the acceleration of perestroika but on the elucidation of attitudes. We must not let these assumptions come true.

"We must work together and do everything within our power to justify the hopes of those who expect today's conference to move our society closer to democracy and renewal and display the increasing maturity of the popular movement.

"The perestroika the party initiated has given the people of Latvia a new historic opportunity for the radical improvement of their life. We must cherish this opportunity and make full use of it for the republic and for the entire country.

"It would be rather ridiculous for me to talk about some kind of detailed and carefully planned program today, just 4 days after my election, but I would still like to list the main guidelines of my work.

"1. The priority of agriculture, which was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet the day before yesterday, and practical steps to solve food problems in the republic.

"2. An autonomous republic economy and plans for an optimal economic model. Only this will put an end to departmental barbarism, ensure ecological recovery, and stop migration.

"3. The establishment of our republic as a sovereign legal state, which was discussed yesterday at the public demonstration in Mezhapark and will be discussed here today.

"These are the minimum requirements for the Latvian people to become masters of their own land. This can be accomplished successfully only by the entire society and through concerted effort.

"The buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia sees the Popular Front as a progressive social movement capable of giving the party considerable assistance in the renewal of all spheres of life.

"This conclusion is based on the statement in the Popular Front program which says that the front's main goal is the support of the perestroika of our society on the basis of the principles of democratic socialism and humanism and active participation in the implementation of the decisions of the 19th party conference.

"We approve of these objectives and the earnest efforts to attain them and we will support them in every way possible.

"We have accumulated many problems in our republic. They have already been discussed widely. The criticism we have heard here is completely warranted, but criticism alone is not enough to make up for lost time. We need action, we need persistent and painstaking work by each individual—from the worker to the Central Committee secretary.

"We must solve problems as well as listing them. The Popular Front can do much in this area, and I hope it will.

"It would be difficult to exaggerate the role you could play in the development of national culture in the broadest sense of the term. Its level must be raised as quickly as possible.

"You will agree with me that the state of inter-ethnic relations, the ecological situation, the quality of products, and the appearance of our cities and communities will depend largely on the state of national culture and the culture of individuals. Even the level of our discussions will depend largely on the level of our general and political culture, and it still leaves much to be desired.

"Because the organizers of the Popular Front include many members of our creative and scientific intelligentsia, I think it is quite capable of serving as a genuine example of high cultural standards for other members of the movement.

"Just before your conference began, a session of the republic Supreme Soviet approved a draft law on the state status of the Latvian language. The Popular Front should take an active part in its elaboration and should offer more assistance to people who want to learn the Latvian language.

"The deputies of our republic, legislative bodies, and the Popular Front must give the issue of citizenship status in our republic thorough and sound consideration. The interests of all nationalities must be taken into account.

"The effectiveness of this work will depend to a considerable extent on the Popular Front itself and on the means and methods employed in the resolution of these and other pressing problems.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that attitudes toward the Popular Front are still not unanimous in labor collectives. Some people still do not know enough about its role and some do not even trust it.

"It would be wrong to go to extremes here.

"To avoid incorrect assessments and suspicion, documents must be worded precisely and all forms of work must be defined.

"The front is called popular, and it must listen to the voice of the people, the entire republic population, and carry out the people's wishes.

"The correspondence of the program and actions of the Popular Front to the fundamental interests of all inhabitants of the republic will secure the realization that the Popular Front is in favor of lasting friendship and mutual understanding among all of the peoples of Latvia and will prevent the appearance of alternative movements.

"It will be extremely important to ensure that the Popular Front takes the national structure of Latvian population into account more fully in the future. Today its members already include Russians and Belorussians, Ukrainians and Jews, Lithuanians and Livonians, all of whom sympathize with Latvia's troubles and ills with all their hearts. I am certain that there will be even more of them after the conference.

"Latvia has become home to many people, and they have the right to expect respect and mutual understanding. Today, in this period of glasnost, I must say quite clearly that the Central Committee will not support any group intent on the creation of inter-ethnic hostility.

"The Popular Front's efforts to develop contacts with progressive Latvian emigres will be supported. Many promising shoots have sprouted on this branch.

"For the good of the cause, it is important today to coordinate ambitions with possibilities and avoid politically unsound ultimatums. They will lead to deadlocks

and estrangement. What we need is consolidation. This means that we must seek compromises. To find them, we must meet more frequently and listen to one another's opinions more frequently.

"In my opinion, the meeting of members of the Central Committee Buro with some of the organizers of the Popular Front just before the conference was extremely useful, and especially for me, now that I am just starting to carry out my duties as Central Committee first secretary. I will say quite frankly that I need the support of the entire population of the republic very much.

"Let us consult one another more frequently, listen to different points of view, and display more tolerance and patience in decisions on controversial matters.

"The future of Latvia is in our hands. We are equally responsible for it to our fellow-countrymen and to future generations.

"I would like to wish all conference participants success, endurance, and political farsightedness. Our people are watching us, and we must repay their trust with good work."

The debates continued until late in the evening. The underlying theme was the need to restore the purity of the sources revealed by Lenin and October.

The conference will continue its work on 9 October.

8588

**Former Kazakh Raykom Secretary Threatens Hunger Strike**

*18300065 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
15 Oct 88 p 6*

[Article by V. Ardayev, IZVESTIYA Correspondent, Dzhambul Region under the rubric Returning to a Previous Article: "A First Secretary of the Party Raykom Declared to Our Correspondent, 'Your Newspaper Has Been Bribed'"]

[Text] A telegram to the editorial staff provided the reason for the official business trip: B. Alpysbayev reported that he intended to go on a hunger strike to protest against persecutions on the part of the Dzhambul obkom and the Merke raykom of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Alpysbayev is the former secretary of the party committee on collective farms, he was relieved of his post six months ago and expelled from the ranks of the CPSU. He has a family in Merke—a wife and five children. After an entire year of futile attempts to find any type of work in his district, he was forced to work in a regional center 150 kilometers from his home. A trained livestock expert with a university education and many years service working as a chief specialist landed a job as a dock worker at a meat processing and packing plant. He rented part of a room in a private apartment.

In July, he applied to the administration and requested a transfer to any job in the recently opened subsidiary of the Merke sheep slaughterhouse. They assigned him to a job and "dismissed him on the grounds of wastefulness." They are not hiring for new positions, there are no job openings, Alpysbayev pesters—asks, begs and demands. He has applied to the party raykom, the district ispolkom and the agricultural cooperative for assistance. All in vain...

This telegram was received after the publication of an article in IZVESTIYA (No. 254) by special correspondents Eh. Maksimovaya and Yu. Orlik, "They Are Suspects in a Conspiracy"—about how severe the consequences were for the members of the Merke raykom—the former members!—who attempted to assert their own opinion at the plenum.

The plenum made a decision which had not been counted upon, it disagreed with the obkom's opinion, which suggested to the Communists to relieve the First Secretary of the raykom, Ye. Sauranbaev, of his post and this was assessed to be a pre-planned action, which was aimed at undermining the obkom's authority. Sauranbaev was immediately expelled from the party for organizing the conspiracy. The "coconspirators" were forced to make public confessions. Many people did exactly this. But those who continued to be stubborn paid with their jobs and party membership cards. Alpysbayev was mentioned in the article among the victims of the "blacklist."

And there you have it, after the article, "I am going on a hunger strike..." It is not the method, of course, but you see only despair can drive a person to such lengths.

The first person I met with in Merke was V. Avdeyev, the director of the slaughterhouse. He spent a long time studying my credentials. And after catching sight of the Dictophone, he ran out of the office. After he returned, he stated that he was prepared to answer questions, but "only without that contraption."

According to his story, it turned out that Alpysbayev had at one time reported to him with questionable papers and since that time he has not returned. This is not true, he reported with a perfectly official letter assigning him to a position, which included the number, date, signature and everything—on an official form. Alpysbayev went to Avdeyev's office weekly, and later even daily. During those three months, 57 people were hired at the slaughterhouse. The director did not manage to explain this situation.

I found Alpysbayev, himself, in a different office—with the Chief of the Merke District Department of Internal Affairs, A. Prisyazhnyuk. The former party organizer had been subpoenaed there and literally a few minutes before my arrival, the Chief of the militia had confiscated that very same letter of assignment from...in front of witnesses. Prisyazhnyuk, just like Avdeyev had, stated that he would be able to display the confiscated document and talk with the correspondent in an hour. After an hour, he stated that

the document was confiscated because of doubts as to its authenticity. But why was the militia there? He was not able to answer this question earnestly.

Finally, there was yet another meeting—in the office of the Raykom First Secretary, V. Pavlovskiy, at which the Obkom Second Secretary, V. Chernov, was also present.

[Chernov] The newspaper article has destabilized the situation in the district. Pavlovskiy has been forced to try to normalize the situation, to put out the fire. What's the matter, do you think he doesn't have other, more important business to attend to? He has cows to milk, he has a shortage of 600 kilograms per cow.

[Pavlovskiy] It is strange that a telegram like this one should be a reason for a correspondent coming here. This is a trick on the part of Alpysbayev—blackmail in its purest form. A gamble intended to attract attention. It is not clear to us which side IZVESTIYA is on—those who have compromised themselves and been expelled from the party? It is strange. By way of illustration, why did Maksimova avail herself to their services and ride around in their car? Personally, I am convinced: the correspondents were simply bribed. In any event, personal interest is present. We have evidence and we have submitted it to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. And you know that certain of those individuals whom your paper has written about are now retracting their words.

We know this. The editorial staff has received two telegrams: from the team leader of the sugar beet growers, N. Rizhova and the Hero of Soviet Labor and a former sugar beet grower on a pension, T. Abdullayeva. One—refutes her speech at the Raykom plenum, which was printed in the district newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA and was quoted in IZVESTIYA. The other—her own words, recorded with her knowledge on tape, which is at the disposal of the editorial staff.

Experience has shown: the more convincing the facts are, the more desperate the opposition to the truth becomes. And that is what happened here: the newspaper defended people and a cause, and its article, for the present, only aggravated the situation. What efforts were required to place Alpysbayev in a job. It was only after the correspondent's arrival that he was hired as an expeditor and the confiscated documents were returned to him with apologies. Why was it necessary to bother two collective farm workers to have them sign denials and further muddle the situation! How can two young managers—Avdeyev and Prisyazhnyuk, be intimidated to such an extent that they are compelled to violate elementary legal norms and then squirm and lie!

And finally, what type of impunity must be sensed in order to so unceremoniously and offhandedly slander journalists by accusing them of accepting bribes.

**Historical Review of NKAO, Soviet Minority Relations**

18300028 Moscow AGITATOR in Russian  
No 16, Aug 88 pp 9-13

[Article by A. Aleksandrov: "Based on Democracy and Legality"]

[Text] On 18 June 1988, the decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR concerning Nagorno-Karabakh were reviewed at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The whole course of the discussion and the documents adopted convincingly confirmed that countermeasures, civic maturity, true patriotism, and the desire to establish good relations among people in the spirit of mutual respect without departing from democratic principles and legality are needed in resolving nationality antagonisms.

**Information**

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) is a part of the AzSSR. It was formed on 7 July 1923 and has an area of 4,400 square kilometers. Its population as of 1 January 1987 was 180,000 people. The center of the region is Stepanakert.

Modern Karabakh is a well-developed autonomous oblast. Here in 1986, for example, 57.3 million kilowatt-hours of electric power, 107,400 fluorescent light bulbs, 794,000 square meters of cotton fabric, 691,000 square meters of carpeting and carpet goods, 4,502,000 pairs of leather footwear, 109,300 tons of raw silk, 5 million rubles worth of furniture, and other goods required by the national economy and the population were produced. The oblast's agriculture of all categories produced 44,300 tons of grain, 91,200 tons of grapes, 7,625 tons of milk, and 3,907 tons of meat.

**In a Situation of Total Openness**

What has been the result of the conflict situation in the NKAO? What are the deep reasons and causes which served as the unprecedented tension of passions?

In addition to the indisputable economic development of the autonomous oblast, other processes have occurred which were ignored for a long time. Here problems were not resolved which affected the national interests of the majority of the oblast's population, the Armenians. The deformations in the sphere of spiritual life—culture, education and personnel policy—became particularly noticeable. The constitutional rights of the oblast were violated. All these phenomena were not removed and not discussed publicly, but were hushed up, and therefore antagonisms slowly and steadily accumulated.

"I think," said M.S. Gorbachev, "that when we talk about the reasons for what happened and what set the Armenian and Azerbaijan people into motion, we must also see the difficult legacy of the past."

Quite a few acute problems have accumulated in Azerbaijan and Armenia which have long troubled the workers of both republics. Here there are serious shortcomings in economic and social development, aggravated ecological problems, major omissions in personnel policies, neglect in the ideological sphere, weakening of internationalist education, and serious violations of the principles of socialist ethics.

Therefore Nagornyy Karabakh, both from one side and from the other, was by anti-perestroyka elements as grounds to whip up national feelings, reducing them to a nationalistic form in order to hide the really difficult, blatant problems.

Only in conditions of perestroyka, in a situation of total openness and glasnost were the NKAO representatives given the opportunity to express their claims to the leadership of the AzSSR and the country. Enumerating the negative phenomena which were engendered in the past, G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, named these facts in particular: As a rule, appointees from Baku were nominated to key positions in the oblast leadership. In academic work and in school and college textbooks published in Azerbaijan, well-known axiomatic historical facts are treated in an oversimplified manner and sometimes quite distorted.

The oblast's annual withholdings to higher budgets for the last decade were 91 million rubles per year. The oblast budget itself was 42 million rubles, or 46 percent of the withholdings. The oblast's per capital production is: 67 kg of meat, compared to 27 for the republic; 320 kg of milk, compared to 155 for the republic. It does not enjoy subsidies; on the contrary, it contributes these most important types of products to the republic fund.

Nagorno-Karabakh has a quite pronounced and very clear economic dependence on Azerbaijan as a whole. The NKAO does not have flour mills and mixed-feed plants, a reinforced concrete product plant, or a home-building combine, and the production capacities of the oblast are quite weak.

Of course, the enumerated factors can become and have already become the cause of serious, statewide discussion of the problems and paths of future development of autonomy. But, on the other hand, this is not the first year all these negative phenomena have existed. Why is it precisely now that a crisis has arisen around them and a matter, amenable to a solution, has been transformed into a problem and has aroused such intense passions?

The chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, Z.K. Kamalidenov said: "We are placed on guard by the fact that attempts are being undertaken to heighten passions instead of a calm, considered analysis of the reasons, taking into account the interests of each of the peoples. From all this one can conclude that anti-perestroika forces, which are fanning the conflict and skillfully playing on the peoples' national feelings, are actively operating in an organized manner in the events surrounding Nagornyy Karabakh."

M.S. Gorbachev also confirmed this conclusion. "The enemies of perestroika, conservatives and corrupted elements who packed their purses during the period of stagnation, are speculating on Karabakh's problems," he said. "We must also see and understand this, comrades. It is advantageous for them to switch and divert attention from themselves by imaginary concern about the fate of the Armenians in Nagornyy Karabakh. We know this, we see this and will also not lose sight of it."

Unfortunately, neither the party leadership nor the national intelligentsia of the republics discerned in a timely manner the true cause which stimulated the development of the crisis. Certain public figures, writers, and scholars unconditionally adopted a position of non-acceptance of agreed upon decisions. Glasnost has enabled us to become acquainted declarations of this nature.

The Armenian writer V.A. Petrosyan stated: "Nagornyy Karabakh can no longer remain within the structure of Azerbaijan, and any decisions which ignore this truth suffered by the Karabakh people threaten catastrophe."

S.A. Ambartsumyan, academician of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and rector of the Yerevan State University, was no less categorical in his speech. "I would call naive the hope that the people's movement can be calmed and reduced to nothing by appeals to strengthen internationalism and friendship of peoples."

As we know, the question of the conflict situation was first discussed at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 23 March. The CPSU Central Committee and the government have elaborated and are implementing measures on the main solution of pressing problems of economic and socio-cultural development in the NKAO.

In a short period of time, stable reception of television broadcasts from Yerevan has been set up, oblast television has been organized, planning of branches of several industrial enterprises is being conducted, expansion of the furniture industry and construction of a mixed feed plant and a water reservoir are envisioned, and questions of organizing a new printing base and training of specialists in VUZes of the ArSSR have been resolved.

Just why is all of this not being taken into account, and why has the desire to listen and understand each other disappeared? Why are the sides so irreconcilable?

The events which have arisen around Nagornyy Karabakh have gone beyond the framework of a local conflict and have drawn millions of people into their orbit. It once was that each person who was affected by these events had the opportunity to form his own opinion about them and express it publicly. Our democracy provides each person with the right to set forth these opinions to all within earshot, and it is easy to note three directions within them.

The representatives of the Armenian nationality insist only on the transfer of the NKAO to Armenia, since they allegedly do not see any other means of settlement. The Azerbaijan side, in turn, sets forth a counter-intolerance: "no concessions whatever" to the NKAO inhabitants. The opinion was even expressed in a sharper manner that "if the Armenians are dissatisfied with something," then their autonomous oblast should be eliminated altogether or Azerbaijan autonomy should be established in spite of it.

Letters to the editor have acquainted us sufficiently with both sides' points of view. We have received a number of varied declarations, statements and appeals from independent "NKAO committees" from Armenia. Many letters have arrived from Azerbaijan. Moreover, this detail has drawn attention to itself. They all have been literally written with carbon paper and contained identical assertions and identical arguments of the unacceptability of separating Karabakh from Azerbaijan.

It is as if one hand orchestrated "public opinion," directing its currents along a strictly determined channel.

What is striking in these letters from Azerbaijan and Armenia? Primarily, it is the lack of spirit of internationalism and friendship, which has a centuries-old history in the Transcaucasus. Many have noticed this such rapid loss of splendid traditions and an abrupt transition to irreconcilable positions.

And they are the ones who express the most rational, balanced, and therefore more constructive point of view.

A. Safronov, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, writes: "Two good Caucasian men served in our company—Oganesyan from Armenia and Mamedov from Azerbaijan. We were in such fine messes together that it is frightening to recall them even now. The war made us sworn brothers. And it is hard for me to imagine to what extremes we must go to today if Oganesyan and Mamedov are ready to go against each other. I don't believe it, but I do believe reason will prevail."

V. Krivenkov writes: "I am not a young man. I remember how our Union of republics was formed. I will always remember that in those times the moving spirits of internationalism were the peoples of the Transcaucasus: the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians."

Indeed, the history of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Transcaucasus has a glorious history. Let us remember only some of the brightest documents of past years, from which the highest fraternal thoughts and feelings blow like a fresh breeze even today.

#### **On the Federation of Transcaucasian Republics**

#### **Resolution of the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)**

The isolated state existence of the Transcaucasian republics weakens them in the face of the capitalist and bourgeois countries; a close political union would serve as a firm guarantee against any encroachment against them from counterrevolutionary forces and would strengthen Soviet power on the borders of the Middle East.

Political unification would give the republics an opportunity in fact to establish a close economic union among themselves, the conclusion of which has been repeatedly attempted. Moreover, the isolation of the republics has deepened the already serious economic situation of the Transcaucasus, the poverty and ruin of the popular masses, and has caused a series of misunderstandings between the republics. The Transcaucasus perceives itself as a single economic whole, and its economic development can be found only under the sign of the All-Caucasian economic unification. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 6 November 1921

#### **On a Transcaucasian Federation**

#### **From S.M. Kirov's Report at the Plenum of the Council of Labor Unions of Georgia.**

"...All three republics of the Transcaucasus face questions of enormous importance which must and can be resolved only jointly, independently of what formally mutual relations we find ourselves in.

"If trouble breaks out over us, if imperialist storm clouds once again fill the southern sky, I dare say we won't have to cry federatively. If they strike the RSFSR, you will also get black eyes; if the imperialist lash whips against revolutionary Baku, independent Georgia will also see stars.

"We face enormous economic tasks, but we will be able to deal with them only if we put a stop to our individual independent cliques, take into account all our fairly well misappropriated resources, and combine all of our assets and strengths in the common Soviet treasury..."

PRAVDA GRUZII (Tiflis), 7 December 1921.

#### **On Representation of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK)**

#### **The Seventh Session (Evening) of the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets**

Kalinin: I declare the session of the congress open. T. Myasnikov, representative of the Armenian Republic, has the floor for an announcement.

(From the editorial staff: Myasnikov (Myasnikyan), Aleksandr Fyedorovich, party member since 1906. Since March 1921, chairman of the Revolutionary Committee and later of the Council of Peoples' Commissars (SNK) and Peoples' Commissars for Military Affairs of the ArSSR.)

Myasnikov: Comrades, I must make an announcement on behalf of the three Transcaucasian independent republics: Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. These Soviet republics emerged in the Transcaucasus at a different time, but by and large one may consider that Soviet power has been existing, developing and strengthening in these three Transcaucasian republics for a year now. Since the time the Soviet regime was established in the Transcaucasian republics, we can boldly say a really sovereign and independent existence has begun for the peoples of the Transcaucasus, for the Soviet revolution destroyed the dependence that these people had on the Entente, and these people began to completely independently decide their own fate.

"The national discord and slaughter which the bourgeois Transcaucasian government sowed and arranged went into oblivion under the Soviet system. We now note a new phenomenon in the life of the Transcaucasian republics and that is that the working sections of the population of the Transcaucasus, uniting together, strive for the same uniting with the Russian workers and peasants..."

Just what has actually happened today? Participants at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the USSR have talked directly and openly about this in conditions of developing democracy.

"For half a year now I have been looking primarily for information from Nagornyy Karabakh," said N.A. Zlobik, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and brigade leader of a composite brigade of a construction administration of the Zelenogradstroy Production Construction and Assembly Association. "The truth is that the situation which has developed around Nagornyy Karabakh is not a consequence of national policy, but the direct result of distortion of it. One thing is clear: The strikes taking place work against perestroika, lead to tensions in the interrelationships of fraternal peoples, and seriously impede searches for a way out of this complex situation."

A.V. Gitalov, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and leader of a tractor brigade at the Kolkhoz imeni 20th CPSU Congress, Novoukrainskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast, emphasized that our common concern is strengthening the multinational Soviet state. He condemned those who try to resolve moot points by forcible means. The only true path to resolving accumulated problems, stated the speaker, is the honest labor of each person. The speaker appealed to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia not to turn away from each other and to arrive at unity and reach an understanding.

It is worthwhile for the participants in the conflict situation to listen to these opinions. The fact is that each of us is far from a disinterested observer to what is going on. Deeds and not words support and strengthen the bases of friendship and trust. Unfortunately, it is precisely the businesslike relations of the workers of Armenia and the NKAO with the fraternal republics that were placed under attack.

As a result of a disruption in deliveries of equipment and assembly goods in July from the ArSSR, output of machine-building enterprises of the Ukraine alone was about 200 million rubles short. Due to shortages in delivery of elevator assembly components, throughout the republic about 5,000 apartments have already not been made available. This affects the interests of many collectives throughout the country and affects the psychological situation. This goes far beyond the confines of a local conflict.

#### Only According to the Law

There is hardly a need to remind one of how many losses and trials the people of our country have endured due to violations of socialist law. Even today we are ashamed to say that Stalin's elimination of the autonomy of the Chechen, Ingush, Kalmyk, and peoples of other nationalities was a gross violation of the Soviet Constitution. Today we see the depravity of the administrative-command system which believed that the law serves not society as a whole, but only those who are in power in the country.

Unfortunately, legal nihilism and the desire to make the law serve only their own interests were fully demonstrated during the course of the conflict surrounding Nagornyy Karabakh.

Let us consider the proposal of some of the participants in a discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet:

"Certain interpreters of the law are attempting to avoid resolving the problem by referring to appropriate articles of the Constitution. Attempts to prove the impossibility of resolving the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh within the framework of the current Constitution are unconvincing to me. They would rather attempt to use the Constitution as a weapon to torpedo the problem itself."

"Let us make a change on the nationality problem as well, without waiting for changes to the Constitution."

As you can see, everything is simple. If the Basic Law interferes with some interests of one party, let us change it, although this will affect the interests of many others. And these appeals come from people who in other conditions condemn the perversions of the cult of personality and the violations of the law.

Yes, perestroika is revolutionary. But this revolutionary nature does not reject socialism and is not directed at its overthrow. On the contrary, the achievement of perestroika's goals is linked with the further strengthening of the principles of socialism, with the establishment of social justice. And this can be done only on the path of strict and exact observance of the law.

Just what do our laws say about changing the territory of the union republics—sovereign state formations?

#### The 1924 USSR Constitution

##### Article 6

"The territory of the union republics cannot be changed without their consent..."

#### The 1925 Constitution of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

##### Article 5

"The territories of the republics included in the ZSFSR cannot be changed without their consent."

#### The 1936 USSR Constitution

##### Article 18

"The territories of the union republics cannot be changed without their consent."

#### The 1937 Constitution of the Armenian SSR

##### Article 15

"The territory of the Armenian SSR cannot be changed without the consent of the Armenian SSR."

#### The 1937 Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR

##### Article 19

"The jurisdiction of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, in the person of its supreme bodies of state power and the bodies of state government, includes:

"d) Establishing the borders and district division of the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast..."

We intentionally made an historical excursion into the legislation of past years so it can be more clearly seen that the principle of republic territorial integrity did not emerge today. In its Basic Law, the Armenian SSR has preserved since ancient times the right to its territory. But its representatives, as we see, propose changing the Union Law.

This position was given a well-reasoned rebuff at the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. USSR Procurator General A.Ya. Sukharev said in particular:

"All must clearly realize that we cannot ignore the legal side of the issue. This is unacceptable to us, first of all, because, having set forth and thoroughly substantiated at the party conference the idea of establishing a socialist legal state and waging a struggle against violations of the law, we cannot begin implementing the decisions of the conference by violating the USSR Constitution. I would again recall the provision of Article 78 of the Constitution: 'The territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. Borders between union republics can be changed by mutual agreement of the appropriate republics, which is subject to approval by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.' It is clear and simple. Not everyone has learned this well. This, comrades, is a reality which cannot be ignored, and we do not have the right to ignore it. To begin building a legal state by violating its Basic Law means to permit a disparity between words and deeds."

**From the 18 July 1988 Resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet**

1. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having reviewed the 15 June 1988 request of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Armenian SSR in connection with the petition of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies and the 17 June 1988 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR concerning the unacceptability of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Armenian SSR, considers changing the borders and the national and territorial division of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR, established on a constitutional basis, impossible.

2. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet calls upon the workers and party and state bodies of the Azerbaijan and Armenian union republics to do all they can to re-establish good, fraternal relations between the Azerbaijan and Armenian population.

In the spirit of glasnost and the strict observance of the letter and spirit of the law, we see the great significance of the decision which the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has passed. It is legally substantiated and convincingly and by the highest standards is just in this situation. The solution to the problem is dictated by the Constitution of the USSR, by the constitutions of the

union republics, and by the will of the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people, which is based on today's realities of perestroika in the interests of the development of socialism.

The resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the issue discussed provides a good platform for an open, democratic, and legal process of resolving the situation surrounding Nagornyy Karabakh. It seems that the majority of the honest thinking people both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia understand the fairness of such a statement of the problem. At the same time, one must bear in mind that there will be people who under the influence of emotions which have accumulated over the past half year will attempt to continue the policy of confrontation, arouse passions, and put pressure on the population. Who are these people? The development of events, the methods of organizing disturbances, and the attempts constantly to keep the people tense, generally speaking, all the more precisely reveal their faces in both a moral and political respect. The opponents of perestroika and the conservative and corrupt elements are exploiting the problems of Karabakh. The force of Soviet laws must be directed precisely against these and only against these elements.

The events in and around Nagornyy Karabakh must become a new serious lesson for all of us. All of us, to an equal degree, are responsible for the present, but especially for tomorrow. Either live in peace and friendship, in a situation of trust and mutual understanding, strengthen the economy and people's standard of living, or, having forgotten all the good, plunge into the pool of discord and lose all the gains—there is no other path.

As with everything that is done in our country, collectively and democratically, the Soviet people are selecting the first, only correct path.

**The CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Adopted the Resolution "On Practical Measures for Implementing the Resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Issue of Nagornyy Karabakh."**

In accordance with the 18 July 1988 resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR on the Issue of Nagornyy Karabakh," the resolution states to send to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the AzSSR as a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having given him appropriate powers, Comrade A.I. Volskiy, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and department head of the CPSU Central Committee, to organize and coordinate the work of party, Soviet and economic bodies of Azerbaijan, Armenia and

the NKAo on carrying out the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on Nagornyy Karabakh.

The Central Committees of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Parties, the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets and the Councils of Ministers of the AzSSR and ArSSR, as well as the appropriate union ministries and departments have been instructed to render all possible assistance and cooperation to the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet in carrying out the tasks on the unconditional fulfillment of the adopted party and state decisions. For these purposes, he has been granted the right, if necessary, to enlist the help of responsible workers of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ministries and departments, and other central bodies to resolve questions which arise.

A special commission has been formed from among the deputies of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as called for by the 18 July 1988 resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

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**Problems in Teaching New History Noted**  
*18300011a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Aug 88 p 3*

[Article by S. Abdikerimov, History instructor from the Kantskiy rayon, "History Is Coming to the Lecture Hall"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] On the eve of the new academic year, certainly not a single teachers' meeting can avoid touching upon such a vitally important subject as the form which history lessons should take. Today, teacher-historians are facing a dilemma: which is more important—criticism of what was, or constructive work to overcome negative historical experience? Until there are new text books and programs, each teacher must determine independently his own path and position.

A young person today is lucky; the period of stagnation and slowdown is behind us. He lives with glasnost and the democratization of public life. Unfortunately, some young people still keep one foot in the past and some see public discussion of historical events and personalities as the usual propaganda campaign. Alas, this scepticism has not arisen in isolation. Over decades, the word has spread, delivered from the podium with good cause. Life is filled with optimism only when real faith is supported by the triumph of historical truth.

In only 16 years we must learn everything about our difficult journey: about our revolutionary achievements and victories, and about our misfortunes and defeats. There is no need to embellish or "sugarcoat" the facts. The dramatic events of our era will educate much more forcefully and will make our youth stronger and more courageous. It is clear that there is only one answer to the ritual question of whether or not things are easy when you are young—no, they are not easy. Too many mistakes have been left by previous generations, and too many troublesome doubts are today's inheritance. We the historians are obligated to help our children. For all that, we ourselves realize that if we are even to concern ourselves with the problems of history we must be guided by facts and recollections which have some basis in truth, and not the various types of fiction which have found expression in some literary works. Otherwise, we greatly confuse our students and make a muddle of history.

A young persons moral character takes shape from contradictory worlds. On the one hand, he wants to take pleasure in good deeds and his own courage, unafraid of fighting all those things which he does not accept. On the other, he also must worry about his own career, about his place in the sun, so to speak, for which the users, flatterers and bureaucrats are striving. How do you bar his way to the second path and convince him that it leads nowhere?

"Historical memory" is mankind's memory; eternal while a man's is transient. Undoubtedly, there is in the concept of "memory" and "the past" also the sad ring of the irreversibility of time with no making up for what is wasted. Yet this sadness is not foreign to those of us living today. Everyone, however, begins to "hear" this "sound of history" differently and at different times, and to answer it with his heart. When does the feeling of historical time arise? Why do people begin to reminisce when they reach adulthood? Why do they open new museums? Why do they have more regard for preserving national monuments? Contemporary psychology asserts that it is the nature of the young to have a peculiar perception of time. They live in the present and are often confused by the meaning of "yesterday," "today," and "tomorrow." It is we who must help our schoolchildren, while they are still young, to experience the past through individuals and their fates, to feel their sufferings and hopes, and to join in the search for truth. In this lies the strength of education through history.

There is both good and bad in our school. The good is to be found in those teachers who have begun to teach their subject creatively in a genuinely new way. They learn to speak themselves and to listen to others, and they learn to persuade and to be persuaded. The bad lies in the slow introduction of, or even at times constraints on, historical sources, and in disagreement with the assertions of leading historians with respect to the repressions and harmful effects of Stalinism. There are enemies of the

new historical consciousness who hit us with old arguments but, at the same time, close themselves to counter arguments. The pace of restructuring in our educational field also is slowed by the fact that those forces called upon to accelerate it are drawn from the life of our school. The historical sciences are out of touch with the practical and this alienation is strengthened organizationally and financially.

We have to study our nation's history now in newspaper and magazine publications. They are subjective at times and, from the point of view of methodology, they are weak in the interpretation of the most important phases of the building of socialism, in the determination of the role of the political system, and in interpreting attitudes toward property. Today it is very painful for historians to talk about the fact that, in a single old textbook, one issue is dealt with incorrectly, another is misinterpreted, and another does not correspond to historical truth... But when will we get a new textbook? It is impossible to assess the state of the history program because we do not have the necessary documents on hand.

Beginning with the 9th five-year plan, the rate of growth of gross production in agriculture began to fall, and other alarming processes—an increase in public apathy and negative moral phenomena, became apparent. We ourselves have called this period "socialism developed". For many years the opinion was prevalent that the bigger a farm was, the more efficiently it must conduct business. Now it has become clear that the policy of excessively large farms was a mistake.

Family contracts have become the fashion nowadays. It is also impossible to artificially speed this up and turn

them into regular companies. Family contracts must develop wherever the conditions are right—demographic, organizational and economic. A large segment of young people do not know the history of their own kray or republic. Yet at one time, every Kirgiz knew the history of his own ancestors seven times removed. This is the extent of the problem. Additionally, the historian needs modern resources like computers and reference books covering the most varied issues. They do not have these things and the majority of our historians are purely theoreticians. Yet Marx said that the pure theoretician is always a reactionary.

After several years of working with students, I asked myself what I had managed to say. The answer is indeed practically nothing. Worthwhile things can be counted on the fingers. So much of the scope of educating the younger generation about history is untapped. Yet, it grieves me to see the great speed with which we head down the wrong paths. At times you think about it and you understand that you must slow down, but instead you shyly mumble, "Right now I cannot. Maybe later..."; and you slide on past. You console yourself with the thought that you will come back to it tomorrow, knowing almost certainly that you will not. But so what? This is teaching. It is necessary. But right now, a new system of education very much needs new methods and tools to create a bright future. And the school's social demand on the historical sciences is practically unanimous—knowledge and more knowledge.

S. Abdikerimov (History teacher, Kantskiy Rayon)

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**Lawyer Discusses Forthcoming Law on Freedom of Conscience**

*18120011 Moscow NEW TIMES in English  
No 40, Sep 88 p 24*

[Interview with Yuri Rosenbaum, LL.D., merited lawyer of the Russian Federation. First two paragraphs are introduction by NEW TIMES.]

[Text] When the millennium of the Baptism of Rus was celebrated, it was repeatedly mentioned that a law on freedom of conscience was in the making in this country. What new aspects should the law be able to introduce to relations between State and Church?

Yuri Rosenbaum, LL.D., has kindly granted an interview to a NEW TIMES correspondent.

**NEW TIMES:** What progress has been made in the work of the new law on freedom of conscience? What bodies are engaged in the work?

**Yuri Rosenbaum:** As far as I know, the initial draft of the law has already been prepared. A group of experts from several bodies has been working on it. Among these were the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, the Procurator's Office of the USSR, Ministry of Justice and Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. I do not know whether any representatives of the general public, any legal scientists in particular, were invited. Late in 1987 the Council for Religious Affairs officially requested the Institute of State and Law of USSR Academy of Sciences, where I work, to prepare a draft of the law. The draft was prepared accordingly and discussed by the Institute, and then forwarded to the Council for Religious Affairs. I do not know what happened to it subsequently.

**N.T.:** Perhaps it would have been more expedient to form a broader working group including legal scientists, representatives of the public and the Church? When the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church was being worked out under Lenin there was a clergyman on the working commission. Perhaps it would do no harm to publish the draft of the law in the press.

**Y.R.:** You mean submit it to a nation-wide discussion? I think this is absolutely necessary. A new law, which will affect not only tens of millions of believers, but also the whole of the people, cannot be drawn up in secret. You cannot draft it without knowing the opinions of citizens. A fundamental law, such as the Law on Freedom of Conscience should not be the product of a separate body or bodies. Unfortunately, we have acquired some experience in the preparation of legislative acts by departmental staffs. I hope we have drawn the proper conclusions from this.

**N.T.:** Could you please inform our readers about the development of Soviet legislation on freedom of conscience?

**Y.R.:** As soon as the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation, on January 23 (February 5) 1918, adopted a Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church. It is a fact that when the relevant commission submitted the draft Decree to Lenin he introduced several important additions to it and edited it before it appeared in its final form. The Decree served as a model for similar acts which were adopted in the Ukraine in 1919, in Byelorussia in 1922, in Georgia in 1921 and in Armenia in 1922. Several Union Republics, in particular, the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh and Kirghiz Republics, soon after their formation, made the legislation of the Russian Federation, including the afore-mentioned decree, effective in their respective territories.

Chiefly in the period from 1918 to 1928, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Justice issued numerous circulars and instructions, which initially established the regulations and procedures for practical steps to be taken by the local authorities to separate Church from State and Education from the Church, and later dealt with matters bearing on the activities of religious organizations. For instance, the Russian Federation alone issued over 170 acts of this kind. Finally, in April 1929, a general act was published. Known as the Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation on Religious associations, it has been effective to this day with a few changes and additions (the most recent ones were adopted in 1975). In 1976-77 all the Union Republics passed similar legislative acts.

**N.T.:** You have only mentioned legislative documents. But, in addition to these, quite a few "secret" acts were issued. These acts introduced considerable changes to the existing legislation....

**Y.R.:** Yes, indeed, the authorities issued a series of classified documents for official use, and certainly not for the press. They established the rights and duties of religious organizations, believers and clergymen. The Instructions on the Application of the Law on Religious Cults of March 16, 1961, is of special interest. Elaborated and approved by the Council for Religious Cults and the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, this departmental legislative act, which had a D notice banning its publication in the press, actually replaced the official legislation on religious cults and was effective for a considerable time.

**N.T.:** You have said that all the Union Republics have open legislative acts governing the status and activities of religious organizations. Why don't they satisfy us today?

**Y.R.**: They did not satisfy us yesterday either. About 20 years ago it was proposed that new legislation on these matters be elaborated. There is no need to speak of the conditions in which the Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation on Religious Associations was produced in 1929. Its content reflected a similar thesis of that period to the effect that class struggle became more acute as the construction of socialism progressed.

The activities of religious organizations and clergymen were strictly regulated and the rights of believers were severely restricted. It should also be mentioned that many of the clauses of the Decision adopted in 1929 run counter to Lenin's Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church.

**N.T.**: Did not this act give rise to conflicts between some of the religious groups and state authorities? There were cases when believers refused to observe some of the provisions of the document. As a result, state bodies would have recourse to measures of compulsion. New articles, similar to Article 227 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, appeared in the criminal codes of other Union Republics. Repressive measures produced martyrs for the faith. They are sometimes referred to as "prisoners of conscience." This in turn led to religious fanaticism and extremism. Although Soviet criminal codes have no articles making the profession of religious belief a criminal offence, believers were often brought to trial because their behaviour antagonized the local authorities.

**Y.R.**: Yes, indeed, this outdated and poorly formulated law has been a source of trouble between believers and state bodies. It has given rise to breaches of the law. It is also true that there were cases when criminal proceedings were instituted without any grounds, particularly under Article 227 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation and similar articles of the criminal codes of other Union Republics. Such practices have been condemned, and the innocent victims rehabilitated. However, you must agree that serious offences against Soviet laws, including laws bearing on religion, the Church and believers, cannot go unpunished. This is one of the legal guarantees of freedom of conscience in the USSR. At the same time the degree of responsibility and, in fact, the entire legislation on these matters must be revised.

**N.T.**: You have just said that the question of introducing new legislation was raised a long time ago. Why wasn't it done?

**Y.R.**: Several drafts for a new law were submitted. But all of them were no more than revised and edited versions of the Decision on Religious Associations issued in 1929. The drafts were produced by staff members of the Council for Religious Affairs. They were obviously dominated by ideas about religion typical of the "godless" five-year-plan periods, when it was intended to "do

away" with religion within a definite period. During the period of stagnation legislative innovations aroused suspicion. The practice was solely to revise or slightly alter separate clauses of the laws. As I have already pointed out, this was done in 1975-77. Proposals for radical changes were rejected outright. It was even forbidden to set them down in scientific papers. The Council for Religious Affairs kept vigilant watch over this.

**N.T.**: What is your appraisal of the role of the Council for Religious Affairs at present? Has its position changed?

**Y.R.**: It has, radically. The people who formerly headed the Council were hostile to legal science and ignored it. They obstructed research in freedom of conscience and legislation on religious organizations. In the last 30 years there have been very few serious scientific papers and publications on the subject (you could count them on the fingers of one hand), and the Council is directly responsible for this, because it gave its "blessing" only to papers on atheism and works supporting the status quo. Today many people are speaking frankly about past mistakes in the policy towards religion and the Church, distortions of the Leninist line, and persecution of believers. What was the Council for Religious Affairs doing at the time? If we go through some of the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee on atheistic propaganda, we will see that they emphasized the need to observe the laws on religious cults, refrain from administrative measures in combating religion and so on. The wording was correct. But practice, with the participation of the Council, was totally different. Churches were closed down by administrative order, religious associations unlawfully removed from the registers and believers persecuted. To put it in a nutshell, religion was being "abolished." But the duties of the Council are totally different, namely to effect control over the strict observance of the law so that the people are able to exercise their right to freedom of conscience without restriction.

As I see it, the new leadership of the Council for Religious Affairs has adopted a fundamentally new stand. It is trying to reestablish Leninist principles in the policy towards religion, the Church and believers. This is evident from the Council's recent decisions and activities, as well as from interviews with Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council. However, it seems that there are still some quarters that are inhibiting this progressive process.

**N.T.**: At a meeting with the prelates of the Russian Orthodox Church, Mikhail Gorbachev said that "we are fully restoring Leninist principles of policy towards religion, the Church and believers. The attitude to the Church and believers should be determined by the need to strengthen the unity of all working people, the whole of our people." This idea is consonant with Lenin's thesis of the unity of working people in the effort to build paradise on Earth being more important to us than the unity of proletarian opinion about paradise in heaven. Many of the ideas that Mikhail Gorbachev advanced at

the meeting give food for thought about the aims of the new Law on Freedom of Conscience. For instance, he said that the Church cannot stand aloof from the processes at work in society, that believers have every right to state their views with dignity, and that perestroika, democracy and glasnost concern them in full degree, without any limitation.

**Y.R.:** Leninist principles in policy towards religion, the Church and believers should, of course, be consolidated in this law. At present they exist independently, as it were, like an abstract theoretical precept. With the exception of the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church, these principles are hardly reflected in legislation. Lenin's attitude towards religion, the Church and believers proceeded from the principle of freedom of conscience. However, over a period of many years our legislation on religion and the Church has been officially referred to as the Law on Religious Cults. The term cult, religious cult in particular, connotes a whole range of mystic acts, rites, religious rituals and prayers. Soviet legislation cannot and should not regulate this sphere of the activity of ministers of religion and believers. Though it did not do so in practice, the title of the law to some extent affected the content of the legislation. It stringently regulates in detail many aspects of religious life and has caused the appropriate state bodies to exercise strict control over the activities of believers' associations. Naturally, the new title of the law—the Law on Freedom of Conscience—should effect a radical change in the content of this legislation to bring it into conformity with Leninist principles in policy towards religion, the Church and believers. Article 52 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees citizens freedom of conscience. It follows that the new law should ensure the full democratic realization of this freedom. It should not concentrate its attention on the detailed regulation of procedures for the setting up of religious organizations or the rules governing their activities.

It appears to me that religious associations should now be regarded as a form of public association of citizens with all the legal and social consequences arising herefrom. Of course, they are characterized by specific features which distinguish them from other types of public association. One of these is that religious organizations (the Church) have been separated from the State. They therefore have no right to intervene in its affairs or in matters bearing on public education. This fundamental principle of the Constitution should, naturally, be duly reflected in the new law. As for the State, it should not intervene in the religious (canonical) activities of believers' associations. It should protect their legal rights. In all other respects there are no grounds for limiting their rights or duties. This means that they should be accorded equal treatment with other public associations. Though all religious organizations have been separated from the State, they have not been separated from society, of which they are a part.

All public organizations have the right and duty to pursue their activities within the framework of their rules (statutes) which should be registered by the executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies. They all come under Soviet legislation—civil, administrative, financial, labour and criminal. It follows that the State does not need to impose detailed legal regulations on religious organizations, their status or activities. It is important only to introduce for both believers and non-believers a system of legal guarantees of citizens' rights and duties, and to ensure them the right of recourse to the law.

**N.T.:** The participation of believers in public life is for some reason or other being restricted. It is limited mainly to the struggle for peace and disarmament, and against nuclear war. But under the law they cannot practise charity, which is professed by practically all religions. Why?

**Y.R.:** The reason for this ban was that in the past the Church made wide use of the material dependence of many people on it. In those days it had capital which formed part of the national economy. Naturally, many believers remained in the Church because they depended on it, and it was for pecuniary reasons that many new "converts" replenished its flock. But all that was in the past. The issue is now of a totally different kind. For instance, is it possible to forbid the Church to donate more than three million rubles to help the victims of the Chernobyl disaster? Or to contribute 30-odd million rubles a year to the Peace Fund? Society can only welcome and duly appreciate the patriotic activities of the Church. But where does the Church get its funds from? The money comes from the believers, i.e., Soviet citizens who make voluntary donations, guided solely by religious sentiments. The church donates this money for highly ethical and humane purposes, which are compatible with our cause. The law should encourage such activities, not ban them.

9274

**Clergyman Asks For Public Discussion of Draft Law on Freedom of Conscience**  
*18000124 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 40, 1-8 Oct 88 p 5*

[Letter by Nikolay Balashov, Orthodox clergyman: "Freedom of Conscience and Secrets of the Apparatus"; under the rubric: "OGONEK Mail: The Reader's Word"]

[Text] There has been mention in the Soviet press about preparation of the new Law on Freedom of Conscience. This law would allow for the realization of true equality between believers and nonbelievers alike. M.S. Gorbachev talked about this during his meeting with Patriarch Pimen and members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and he also spoke of it in his speech at

the 19th Party Conference. A.A. Gromyko spoke of the impending preparation of the new law also in conversations with participants of the Millennium celebration.

In publishing the very interesting interview with K.M. Kharchev in Issue No 21 1988, your magazine also noted the perfecting of relations between church and state which would entail changing the existing legislation.

However, it still is not clear whether the draft for the new law will be published prior to its passage into law so that it can be open to democratic discussion, during which time both believers and nonbelievers would be able to express their critical observations and suggestions. Probably nowadays it is not even necessary to mention that open discussion of such a weighty issue concerning our public life can be the only guarantee of the true consideration of the vital interests of millions of citizens, believers and nonbelievers. I really want to believe that this law will not turn out to be prepared on the quiet and then approved in the old "apparatus" manner.

Naturally, because of the lack of official information in church circles, various rumors concerning the contents of the new law, as well as the intended time and manner of its approval, are circulating. Recently, foreign radio stations were broadcasting the contents of a certain draft of the USSR Law on Freedom of Conscience and On Religious Organizations. Lately this same document has been making its way from hand to hand in the form of typewritten copies. It seems to be authentic, but is it, in fact? And, why is it that we, the citizens of this nation, must come to know the contents of quite an important draft law through rumors and Voice of America broadcasts?

I would really like to receive an authoritative reply to this question, which is important to me and to a great number of believers.

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**Krasnoyarsk Baptists Register; Continued State Persecution Described**  
*18000046 Moscow NEDELYA No 37, 12-18 Sep 88*  
*p 20*

[Interview by IZVESTIYA correspondent Aleksandr Shcherbakov with Ivan Tsytsyn, preacher of the Krasnoyarsk Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists: "Resurrecting Religious Tolerance." First 5 paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The winds of change have touched all spheres of our society, including the life of religious organizations. A new Law on Freedom of Conscience is being developed and the Leninist principles of the attitude toward religion, the church and the faithful are being restored. Despite the deep ideological differences, today we understand more clearly that the faithful are Soviet people, laborers, and patriots of their country, and that they

have the full right to fittingly express their own convictions. Under the conditions of democratization, glasnost [openness], and pluralism of opinions, the prerequisites have emerged for a more fruitful dialogue with the faithful. All the possibilities have been created for their active participation in restructuring the entire life of society, in moral renewal and humanization. Not only are Orthodox Christians participating in these processes, which have received considerable impetus in connection with the celebration of the millennium of the christening of Russia, but also the representatives of many Protestant movements, including Baptists.

Baptists, as a variety of Christianity, arose in the 17th Century, and appeared in our country in the 60's of the last century. Calling for christening at a conscious age and rejecting many of the traditional rites and dogmas of the church, it, like other religious, preaches obedience to supernatural powers and belief in life after death. Among the other Protestant movements of Christianity, the Baptist religion is not distinguished by any extreme views. Although in the period of the cult of personality the repressions also touched upon the representatives of this religion, the relations of the Baptist Church with the state remained quite smooth. However, in the early 60's, when the activities of the Baptist communes were regimented more strictly, many leaders of the local churches spoke out against the leadership of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians (AUCECB).

Matters took a dramatic turn. The more ardent opponents of accepting the "anti-evangelical" corrections were excluded from the church and subjected to persecution by the Soviet authorities. As a result, there was a schism and a new Baptist movement emerged—the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists (CCECB). Its followers came to be called "separatists" or "Prokofyevites," after the name of one of the initiators of the split, A. F. Prokofyev, who is today a member in good standing of the Krasnoyarsk Church.

The "separatists" in essence left the AUCECB and refused to register their communes, since they did not accept the corrections which contradicted their religious teachings. Yet today, under the conditions of perestroika and democratization of our society, the state's attitude toward the "separatists" has become more tolerant, and the Krasnoyarsk Church was one of the first in Siberia to agree to voluntarily register its communes, having assumed the positions of mutual legal relations with the authorities.

Ivan Tsytsyn, whom our IZVESTIYA correspondent is interviewing today, is one of the initiators of registration. He is the son of the presbyter of the Krasnoyarsk Church. He is a preacher, 34 years old, and has 6 children. He has a secondary education and works as a tinsmith at the SMU [construction-installation administration] of the kray consumer administration creative advertising section.

[Shcherbakov] Ivan Borisovich, excuse me, but when I entered your workshop I couldn't help but notice your watchful glance at this uninvited guest. I must admit that I too would feel a bit more at ease when meeting, for example, a tinsmith-Komsomol member. How do you explain this caution, and even a certain alienation in regard to non-believers and believers, especially Protestants, or sectants, in the terminology of the atheist literature?

[Tsytsyn] I believe that such a cautious attitude has been formed in our country for years and decades, and at least on the part of the faithful there was sufficient justification for it. It dates back to the 30's, when the faithful, and especially the Protestants, along with other members of Soviet society, were subjected to mass repressions which cast doubt on their political reliability in the eyes of the authorities at that time. Misfortune touched many Baptist families. Unfortunately, in the subsequent years the activity of our brotherhood was far from being free. In the 60's, a new wave of repressions crashed down on the leaders of the separatist movement, and many churchmen again found themselves in camps. Humiliating regimentation and intervention in the life of the commune were undertaken until most recently. Yet it was not always so. Believe me, I know the history of the Baptist religion in our country quite well. In the first years of Soviet rule, after the adoption of the Decree on Freedom of Conscience and Religion, and on the separation of church and state, the faithful, including Protestants, really did enjoy greater freedoms in celebrating their rites, in holding meetings, and in preaching their sermons. My older brothers in faith remember this.

In our family we have even preserved such a legacy. My wife's grandmother, who was of the same faith, had a boarder. He was an old man, a Baptist who had formerly been an Orthodox priest, and who had been exiled to Shushensk and met Lenin. He told how Vladimir Ilyich, a devout atheist, often polemicized with the priests, trying to prove that religion would in time become a museum relic. Yet at the same time he said that after the victory of the proletarian revolution, of which he already had no doubt at that time, the faithful would receive full freedom. And so it was in fact. I read some of Lenin's works. Despite his rejection of religion, they are permeated with respect for the individual believer and tolerance for one who does not share his views.

We cannot help but be happy at today's return to Lenin's teachings. As for myself, I will say personally that I like Gorbachev's policies very much. I like all the democratic transformations which are taking place in the country. I am saying this most sincerely. I hope to see this process continue and become irreversible. Like all honest Soviet people, we, the Christian Baptists, fervently support it and, believe me, not only in prayer.

[Shcherbakov] This may not exactly be a tactful question, but I would like to ask how you became a believer and came to religion?

[Tsytsyn] Although I grew up in a religious family, I was, like all young boys, far from God. I ran around, played, and read very few books. Schoolwork was easy for me. Sometimes my parents would take me to meetings of the Orthodox dissenters, but they did not impose the faith upon me. As strange as it may seem, it all began with Belinskiy. In his writing I encountered words about the wisdom of the Bible and began to think: Since such a smart man, a revolutionary, praises this book, there must be something to it. And so I took my father's Bible in hand...

[Shcherbakov] Do you know why I asked this question? Recently I had occasion to be present at a discussion on moral upbringing, which was organized by the teachers at the medical institute's department of scientific communism, who also invited your Orthodox dissenters. (We will note: this too is a new sign of the times). A. Prokofyev, a former well-known leader of the CCECB, was also present at this discussion. In responding to a similar question, he related how in the late 30's, while working as a teacher in Polotsk, he became listed as politically unreliable for repeating an anecdote which he had heard from a stage artist. Later, while a student at Petrozavodsk University, he was arrested, sent to Krasnoyarsk, sentenced to 10 years in accordance with a well-known statute, and sent off to Norilsk. All this was because he had engaged in correspondence on the subject of "Raskinulos more shiroko" [The Sea Spreads Wide], an ironic song about the introduction of paid education. In Norilsk he worked as a miner, and later he worked in the physical-chemistry laboratory. As a materialist far removed from mysticism, I cannot believe that he heard a "voice from above" telling him to read the Bible. However, as a person I can understand why the recent student and Komsomol member turned to religion under life's difficult conditions. So I thought: maybe you too were prompted toward religion by insult. After all, your father, a presbyter, also served 3 years of imprisonment.

[Tsytsyn] Yes, he was sentenced under Article 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for "spreading ideas undermining the state and social order." He served his time in a camp together with criminals. He was released in 1984. Of course, such things do undermine our trust in the authorities. However, I had come to faith much earlier, in my youth, when each person selects his path. My choice was not that simple. And yet, at the age of 15 I accepted the ritual of baptism. We perform baptism in our religion not at infancy, but at a conscious age. I knowingly gave my promise to God with an honest and clean conscience. And, when my father was sentenced, the brethren entrusted me with leadership of the commune.

[Shcherbakov] Don't you think that, had it not been for the extremes of certain religious dogmatists and the instructions of the council of churches, had it not been for the refusal to register by the commune, fewer of your people would have suffered and there would not be the broken lives?

[Tsytsyn] No, I don't think so. First of all, the charter of the Council of Churches leaves the right of registration to the local church. We ourselves decide this question. Secondly, we never refused registration in principle. We simply could not accept certain points in the legislation on religious cults which bore a clearly anti-evangelical character. Do you understand? We are in full agreement with the Constitution. It guarantees us many things, but various sub-legal statutes and "corrections" negate these guarantees. In essence, the legislation was written only for the Orthodox Church, but we have many differences in our thinking and in our rites.

We told the local officials of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers: Please, register us. However, we cannot deceive you, and we will say openly that we will be forced to perform some of our rites in violation of the law. For example, it prohibits giving material aid to the faithful. However, helping one another is one of the basic principles of our faith. If I, a young and healthy man, earn 500 rubles, I must share with an old lady who receives a pension of 20 rubles. Not doing so is counter to my faith.

Or, let us take the prohibitions on youth meetings. We do not demand, for example, the creation of separate schools for Bible study. We as parents teach our children to be kind, honest, and moral on the basis of our faith. We, the Baptists, celebrate holidays—for example, Harvest, Christmas, New Year, Easter, and the children participate in these celebrations together with their parents. This is natural for a family. Believe me, we do not force them into religion. They will later decide for themselves whether or not to take the vow.

Or, there is also the prohibition of the so-called tourist trips by the youth. We have many talented boys and girls. They write poems, compose their own music and songs. They want to associate with other young people of their faith. So why can't they take a trip to some little church in Boguchany or Motygino, for example? Or why can't they meet in the kray center? What is the harm in this?

In my opinion, the activity of the church ministers is also unjustifiably limited. The appointed presbyter, for example, has the right to perform such rites as baptism or the Lord's supper only in his own commune. Yet our district is huge, and perhaps 3-5 of our brethren may live in several remote settlements. They must participate in the sacrament once a month, but the church ministers are prohibited from going to them. What is the solution. Of course, we go, in violation of the instructions.

[Shcherbakov] As far as I know, a presbyter can go to any commune provided he has permission from the official on religious affairs and informs the ispolkom [executive committee] of the local Council...

[Tsytsyn] Yet doesn't such mistrust demean human dignity? Doesn't it insult civic pride? It turns out that we are not quite equal members of society. We are suspected

of something bad. Our church is placed on some kind of political platform, almost an anti-Soviet one. It is specifically this mistrust which has provoked complaints by the faithful regarding the infringement of individual rights, and prompted letters to various institutions... And then these were used to build cases on "fabrications undermining the order." Yet we are the same Soviet people, honest laborers, patriots of our Homeland and, God knows, our order. Christians, including Baptists, have proven this time and again both in the years of the revolution and in the years of the war, and also on the labor front, as they say.

We know that a new USSR Law "On Freedom of Conscience" is currently being prepared. We hope that it will remove many of the outdated prohibitions. It would be good to involve the faithful in its development, to listen to our wishes.

[Shcherbakov] Let us consider this conversation a participation by the faithful in the preparation of the future law. I know that the leadership of your Council of Churches was invited to participate, but as yet has not accepted.

[Tsytsyn] Nevertheless, we should acquaint them with the project of the faithful. They would not suggest anything bad. In general, we must trust them more, involve them in closer cooperation and in active participation in social and political life. The faithful are still often viewed as something dark. Well, are they always allowed into the light? There are currently many educated people among the faithful. I know some wonderful engineers, architects, and specialists in all trades. Moreover, they are people who do not drink and are conscientious. Yet people seem to be afraid to entrust them with an important endeavor. It is simply not done... Society stands to lose much from such prejudice.

[Shcherbakov] Have you personally had occasion to experience this mistrust?

[Tsytsyn] It would be a sin to complain. My work comrades respect me. They value my labor in the collective. And yet there have been cases... Once they announced their thanks to me for my good work, and decided to hang my picture on the Honor Board. But when this got back to the former party secretary, he didn't like the idea. "Why, what are you thinking? A Baptist on the Board? Why, that's apolitical." Believe me, I am not vain, and yet there is this attitude...

Or here is another case. When they arrested and tried my father, the local press wrote an accusatory article in the newspaper. They touched upon me too. He found a warm place for himself, they said. He rakes in the money, covering up with faith... They told the collective to condemn me at the meeting. The trade union secretary came from the trust: let's look into Tsytsyn's life and behavior. They let me speak too. I explained what was right in the article and what was wrong. My comrades

listened and said: In order to condemn his "harmful activity," you have to know it. Let us form a commission, go home, acquaint ourselves with the situation, and then discuss the matter. On this they parted.

In the morning the trade union committee chairman brought in a finished "response to the editors" stating that I had been, supposedly, "investigated" and condemned by the entire collective. Our SMU trade union organizer refused to sign it. The party organizer Yura Ganin also would not sign. "I am a communist," he said, "and I cannot lie." They turned out to be honest people.

And so, you understand, the stereotype of the believer has already been formed. He is either semi-antisoviet, or a semi-swindler, and that means we should treat him accordingly. I remember we were celebrating a biblical holiday—the 120th anniversary of the complete translation of the Bible into Russian. The faithful from Kansk, Ilansk, and Motygino had all gathered. There were many young people. We began the services. Suddenly, the mayor of the militia, Kirpichev, comes in and says: "Stop this, or we'll chase you off right now."

[Shcherbakov] Excuse me, Ivan Borisovich, you seem to speak mostly in the past tense, but as yet the former legislation is still in force. What has changed in the position of the faithful? Why has your church "come out of the underground" and decided to register?

[Tsytsyn] Yes, the law remains as before, but its interpretation has largely changed. It has become less tendentious. In connection with the processes of democratization and humanization there has begun to be more tolerance of religion in society and in the labor collectives, as well as also on the part of the Soviet and party organs. In some places new people have taken over, and in some places the old ones have changed and taken a broader view of things. The tone of command is less often heard in addressing us. There is also less mistrust and watchfulness on the part of the faithful in relation to the authorities. Seeing such a warming of mutual relations at all levels, such a rebirth of religious tolerance and respect for the law, we have decided to register our commune. We believe this step is the right one. We are learning democracy, as they say.

It is true that it is still a bit early to speak of complete mutual understanding. Old psychology is a tenacious thing. For example, they have decided to build a new prayer hall for us. This is a very encouraging fact. However, the city architect has selected a site not only on the outskirts of town, but also under the electrical transmission lines. It had been used as a dump site. All right, we will clear away the rubbish. But how can we build a structure under high voltage lines? This cannot be done, and, I believe, the architect knows this as well as we do.

Well, and why don't they give us a place that is closer, more convenient for the old people among our congregation? After all, these old people are our own Soviet citizens who have put in an honest lifetime of labor. I want to build a house that is worthy, in accordance with all the canons of medieval architecture. It would not ruin the appearance of any street. Unfortunately, for now the stereotypes are still stronger than common sense, but we hope that this common sense will prevail, that legality will triumph, and that the faithful will begin to be viewed as normal fellow citizens, as they are in all civilized countries (including socialist), and will be treated without prejudice. In any case, the party policy and the decisions of the party conference are encouraging.

[Shcherbakov] The millennium of the christening of Russia has passed...

[Tsytsyn] We, the Christian Baptists, also celebrated this important landmark in the history of our country and in the formulation of our culture. This was our common celebration, since we have one common native land!...

AT THE REQUEST OF THE EDITORS, N. A. Lushchikov, a Krasnoyarsk kray official of the Council on Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, commented on this interview.

"Such a dialogue," said Nikolay Aleksandrovich, "may today be held with a representative of any other Protestant organization. This is a regular thing. The period of stagnation is being replaced by renovation and democratization in all aspects of life. This is reflected also in the relations with the faithful. Unfortunately, the legal sphere, which closely touches upon the interests of the faithful, unjustifiably lags behind everyday perestroika. The outline of the USSR Law "On Freedom of Conscience" which is awaiting public discussion has gotten lost somewhere in the high commissions. Yet at the "lower levels," particularly in the Protestant communes, this problem is being elementally discussed, which gives rise to various trends and rumors..."

For now, the old legislation on cults is still in effect. It contains many outdated statutes. However, it must be adhered to, since no one has rescinded it. So, quite frankly, we are forced to maneuver between the demands of perestroika and yesterday's instructions, to give "indulgence," as Ivan Tsytsyn puts it. We are trying not to hinder either youth meetings, or New Year's tree celebrations for the children of the faithful. Officially registered presbyters are currently free to take trips to populated areas where persons of their faith reside. Also, no one hinders giving personal material aid to persons of the same faith... In short, the mutual understanding between the faithful and representatives of local authority is growing. We would like to wish the leaders of the CCECB the same thing. The time itself, and perestroika, demand such a dialogue.

**Minister Zakharov On Plans To Ease Cultural Exchange Procedures**

*18300005a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Aug 1988 p 2*

[Interview with V.G. Zakharov, USSR Minister of Culture, time and place of interview not cited; interviewer, V. Shvarts]

[Text] As everyone knows, at their 18 August meeting, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, approved a proposal to improve the organization of cultural contacts between the USSR and foreign countries in the interests of furthering peace and mutual understanding between peoples. What is the essence of proposals? We asked V.G. Zakharov, USSR Minister of Culture to answer this question.

[Zakharov] It should be noted that, aside from our ministry, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the creative unions, and a number of other departments which conduct such exchanges participated in the development of these proposals to improve the organization of foreign cultural exchanges. In brief, our proposals, approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, were directed primarily at democratizing ourcultural contacts with foreign countries.

This was dictated by a number of well-known party documents, including the resolutions of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference. The proposals call for a significant expansion of the independence of the union republics, local Councils of People's Deputies, social organizations, and creative unions in the conduct of foreign cultural exchanges.

Given the current heterogeneity and enormous geographical areas covered by [foreign] tours and other cultural exchanges, a single ministry or even several departments are in no position to and do not have the right to take on the role of [sole] arbiter in this area. Given the conditions which exist today, attempts to direct the expansion of cultural contacts centrally alone are inefficient and inhibit the development of the contacts they are attempting to facilitate.

Life compels us to reject such positions. And something of the sort has already been put into effect. For example, both the newly established creative unions and the existing ones have already been granted the right to independently enter into foreign partnerships.

What do our proposals stipulate? First of all, increases in the independence of the union republics in developing international cultural contacts. In other words, the union republics, and the republic creative unions, and local Councils of People's Deputies as well, will be granted the right to enter into direct contacts, by-passing central agencies. For example, if we are talking about exchanges (not involving currency) between sister cities (and such ties are expanding every year), now questions such as

selection of groups and performers to go on the tours will be decided locally. Commercial exchanges with capitalist countries will also be simplified. Plans call for improvement of the forms of such exchanges; we intend that they will be implemented, among other means, through local creation of a variety of joint firms, associations, publishing houses, etc.

Our proposals on the substantial simplification of the procedures for setting up cultural exchanges involving trips abroad were also approved. Currently this issue is being worked out in greater detail, we are attempting to purge this procedure of unnecessary formalities.

I am sure that another of our proposals which was approved will be positively received by all creative workers. I am referring to the established of a great many more international festivals in our country than we had previously.

[Shvarts] But don't tell me there aren't enough of them?

[Zakharov] There are two major problems here. If we look at the question as a whole, it turns out that there are many types of art for which our country has no festivals. For example, we do not have at theater festival, a circus festival, a fine arts festival or, for example, a festival for young talent. Now, such festivals will begin to appear. As you know, we have just successfully held the first International Folklore Festival, which will become a tradition. In December, we will hold the first festival of creative youth from socialist nations. I am convinced that such artistic celebrations will play a positive role in the development of culture.

The second aspect of the problem is the geographical narrowness of such festivals. Is it fair that the majority of them are held in Moscow and Leningrad? These cities are simply oversaturated with events of this nature, while many regions are unfairly deprived of them. For this reason we must concern ourselves with eliminating this distortion. International festivals will be held more frequently in the capitals of the union republics, and in kray and oblast centers, the cities of Siberia and the Far East.

[Shvarts] Such measures will entail considerable expenses. Are they always justified?

[Zakharov] We are incurring expenses to make the best examples of art the property of millions of Soviet people, not in words alone, as was previously the case, but in actuality. In addition, there are a number of types of joint work with foreign counterparts in which some portion of the expenses can be recouped.

By the way, at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo our proposal on improving the financial-economic aspect of cultural exchanges with foreign countries was approved. In this area there are many "sore spots" related to outmoded statutes passed 20-30

years ago. Today we must learn not to be frightened by the phrase "earn money." It is time to [find other ways of obtaining money] than simply extracting it from the state budget, which after all it is not inexhaustible [cash] box. In addition, it has long been time to conduct our conversations with our foreign counterparts, especially from capitalist countries, on an equal footing. And it is time to think about the fact that when our artists and groups go abroad they find themselves in far from comparable circumstances to their colleagues from other countries.

Of course we must not think that we are trying to institute exchanges as a commercial device. We will never allow this process to occur to the detriment of the spiritual needs of the Soviet people.

9285

**Artist Glazunov Responds to Critics**  
*18000043b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Sep 1988 p 4*

[Article by I. Glazunov: "Answers to My Critics"]

[Text] On 18 August I read in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA a "letter to the editors" from a group of Moscow art critics—V. Kostin, A. Chegodayev, and A. Yakimovich—containing an attempt to explain a number of issues related to the subjects of my paintings, my relationships with the critics, and exhibitions. From the first, I want to make it clear that I would not enter into a polemic with people whose critical muse tends more toward politically colored slanders than toward true artistic analysis. Take for example their loaded question about some purported "cabalistic masonic symbols," which they imagine they see depicted in "Mysteries of the XXth Century" on the red banner, which indeed forms part of the background. And since when is depicting stars, the state symbol of many countries in the 20th century, a reprehensible act? Perhaps the authors can explain to me their cabalistic significance. And since in their letter my "opponents" carefully avoid any sort of professional critical analysis of my art (although two of them have scholarly degrees), making only dilettantish attacks in the areas of political science, sociology and current history, then, I repeat, I could have a clear conscience about ignoring this latest in a series of edifying attacks.

However, out of respect for the paper, which has discussed my work more than once, including critically, and also for its readers, who are no doubt intrigued by the unfolding dispute, I will, nevertheless, permit myself to have my say on essential aspects of the topics raised.

So, the critics assure us, no persecution of Glazunov ever existed and does not exist today; on the contrary, they claim that "hundreds of laudatory, often apologetic, articles have been published, not to mention monographs, albums, films, television programs..." Let me be

more precise: for four decades there has been a total boycott of my work in the publications of the Artists' Union. They have refused to allow me to use the exhibition hall of the Artists' Union or to be accepted as a member for 12 years. I was granted the title of People's Artist of the USSR through nomination by social organizations (in particular, the RSFSR Writers' Union for my illustrations of Russian classics). Although each year it has had a fund of tens of millions for purchasing art, throughout all those years the union has refused to acquire even one of my works.

The situation with respect to the development of subject by subject publications plans by the USSR Artists' Union publishing house "Sovetskiy Khudozhnik" was depicted in clear terms by its director himself (who in his time refused even to consider a request for an edition about me) on the pages of the union's house organ MOSKOVSKIY KHUDOZHNIK (No. 37 for 1986): "We, in planning our editions, were guided by the recommendations of the secretariat of the board of the Moscow Oblast Writer's Union. But sometimes it was difficult to avoid the feeling that the topic (one or another name) was being recommended on the basis of 'family' motives which are far from the propaganda goals of graphic art. At times the secretariat capitulated before an excessively prolific artist, and considered a proposed edition as a gift for his anniversary, without considering the low quality of the work which would be reproduced in the book, nor the lack of audience for such an edition."

The authors of the letter want to create the impression that I alone am "demanding support and understanding from criticism" and no one else is so hard to please. I again open MOSKOVSKIY KHUDOZHNIK (no 5 for 1987), and read the words of my artist colleague: "...The relationship which has grown up between art critics and artists.. has long been unfavorable. Unfortunately, we do not have mentors capable of objective thought or of discerning in an artist something individual and unique, even if it is still in a developmental stage. One gets the impression that many art critics, members moreover of disparate schools, academic prigs, as well as loud-voiced heralds of the "super-new," picture themselves as commissars from the time of the civil war, with a banner in one hand and a rifle in the other, urging the soldiers to attack. To us, "the soliders," they seem like people who have leaped on a departing train in the direction they want to go and, as it proceeds, pushing their way to the head of the car to be the first to get off at Poltava station."

Thus, since there are more than enough people dissatisfied with the critical section of the Moscow Oblast Artists' Union, it would be strange indeed if I were the only one to be their "victim." In issue number 24 from the same year the painter N. Plastov continued on the same topic. "Much unjust treatment would have been impossible without the obliging help of criticism, which was willing to do anything. This is the source of our

mistrust of today's critical evaluations and guidelines. We have particular misgivings because of the lack of responsibility shown by theoreticians with respect to professional issues and to criteria of mastery and we distrust their persistent attempts to stand between the artist and the world (their attempts to stand at the head of artistic progress)." Here I am quoting only what I myself would subscribe to. But I do not understand why all the blows for affirming the decrepit state of our criticism fall on my head alone. Did not MOSKOVSKIY KHUDOZHNÍK publish in last year's issue No. 10 the words of another artist? "All our creative sections are indignant with the critics. I think that the critics' section should be transferred to the Writers' or Journalists' Union, since it brings nothing but discord and confusion to our ranks." Why then are all the threatening critical arrows aimed, as always, at me?

The authors of the letter identify me as a "certain type of artist" who is organically intolerant of any kind of criticism of all. This is not the case at all; the truth is that I, like many other artists, am displeased when cliquishness, subjectivism, and abuse are allowed to run wild in criticism. The fact is that it is not the one who washes dirty linen in public who is to blame, but the one who soiled the linen in the first place. The authors seized upon my statement that the union is an "organization composed of people who hate each other completely." And when cronyism, sharing out of contracts and the duties supporting them, backstage "allocation" of creative aid, tours, official trips, and studios all flourish.. how can this be expected to reinforce mutual love?!

Explain to me why critic A. Korzukhina, who was the first to dare, along with the traditional abuse heaped on my pictures, to say something positive about just a few of them in an article "Can the incomprehensible be comprehended?" (MOSKOVSKIY KHUDOZHNÍK, No. 28, 1986), was immediately the subject of an attempted expulsion from the union on the grounds of "apologism" of a person whom all had heretofore agreed to revile and who had been placed under a taboo as a degenerate and monster of Soviet art. It is true that the resolution to accomplish this backfired ignominiously on the board of the Moscow Oblast Artists' Union, but the establishment of a special zone of silence around Glazunov, a mine field, on which no one now will ever again step without the sanction of the critical authorities, is very revealing... This is how the opinion grew up that it is not a good idea professionally to discuss the work of Glazunov.

The Moscow critics must have forgotten about the top secret "round table" of 29 July 1986 in the Central House of the Artist on the topic of "the popular artist in the mirror of the press," which was concealed not only from the general public, but from the artists as well. This trial in absentia to which, naturally (this is how they understand glasnost in the Moscow Oblast Artists' Union), they were too shy to invite me, was devoted exclusively to me and my work.

At this meeting they cited improbable figures concerning my income, and strew about such colorful epithets as "idol of mass culture" (Yu. Nekhoroshev), "vulgar decadence: (V. Petrov), "toady of bourgeois modernism" (I. Besonova), "loathsome aesthetics" and "parasitism on the accomplishments of classical Soviet art" (Y. Gerchuk), "conservative art," created to pander to modern Philistines (V. Avronov), "discrediting of our way of life," "mockery of political symbols dear to us," "Nazart," and so forth in the same vein. M. Yablonskaya argued herself into the position that people asking for a publication on Glazunov, were analogous people asking for vodka. How can this not be called persecution?

The authors of the letter lament that I do not accept the eccentricities of the avant-garde. It is true the "Kandinsky syndrome," so the doctors term the tendency to see the world abstractly, is not natural to me. But does this signify, as the critics write, "mockery"? In an interview in the paper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, I expressed myself clearly and definitely: "I am in favor of pluralism, of the development of various tendencies in art; I am against monopoly. But we must each be accountable to ourselves for what is good and what is bad."

And here D. Nalbandyan, whom the authors of the letter to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA were in such a hurry to defend from me, received no few lumps from our critics. He got it both from Yakimovich and Morozov, and in expressions campared to which my reminiscences of Dmitriy Arkadyevich Nalbandyan, my colleague whom I frequently encountered at the scholarly council at the Surikovskiy Institute, seem very pale indeed. How can confirmation of the generally known fact of the many awards Nalbandyan won or of his role on the exhibition committee be offensive? And the fact that Indira Gandhi preferred my portrait to Nalbandyan's—was completely a matter of her conscience and taste, and nothing to do with me; this is the way it really happened. This was simply an artistic competition. And I continue to respect him as a talented master, a pupil of the renowned Lanser, the painter of good still lives and landscapes. And, believe me, Nalbandyan and I can settle things between ourselves without intermediaries.

They deigned to lump us together as "court" portraitists of past regimes. "Of course," write the authors of the letter, "having painted the portrait of Stalin and Brezhnev does nothing to enhance anyone's creative biography." It all depends! You would do better to look with "at least one eye" at my work before you revile it. Perhaps my "Brezhnev" contains the concentrated essence of all I lived through during the period of his rule—are you saying that that isn't possible? The compromising of a political figure does not necessarily entail the downfall of the artist who painted him. (After all, even today "Brezhnev" hangs on Kuznetskiy at an exhibit of the union "The Land and The People," and does that mean nothing?) After all, it is self-evident that each person is interesting in his own way for a portrait,

be he a king of Spain, as brilliantly depicted by the brushes of Velasquez and Goya, or "Nikolay II" by Serov... The key element is quality and about this aspect you, for completely obvious reasons, do not have and cannot have the slightest notion. Yet you are confident in your judgement, passing a categorical guilty sentence in absentia.

Very confusing to the uninitiated are the games that our critics play with respect to the Academy of Artists, which is at once their eternal enemy, (V. Kostin in his time even published a series of "theses", and all but nailed them to the doors of the Moscow Oblast Artists' Union in the manner of Luther) and a sweetmeat voluptuously longed for.

They find me guilty of the fact that my name figures in the list of candidates. And yet the names of the authors of the letter are there too—right next to mine! But for them this does not seem to be a criminal act.. My personal attitude to this matter is more serious and logical than that of many: the Academy appeals to me as the depository of professional, realistic mastery, national artistic tradition, and the work that composes it—not simply an honor or a privilege, but as an acknowledgement of your personal contribution to the chronicle of artistic achievements of our fatherland. Without false modesty I will say that that of the Soviet masters alive now I, must be the only one capable of filling a whole Manezh (TsVZ), the last such exhibition was held only for A. Plastov and S. Konenkova (active members of the Academy of Arts, among other things). I want to remind you that this hall does not belong to the Artists' Union

and that many artists are refused this hall because they do not have enough work to fill it. And, in general, here we must grant the people greater rights to express themselves directly.

The authors of the letter are also afflicted with no few visual aberrations, to put it mildly, in their caricatured "interpretation" of the image of my "Mysteries of the XXth Century." Mayakovskiy is far from being represented there as a bandit. The mauzer is the symbol of the times of the revolution, decisive and merciless, and not a paraphrase of the well known poetic lines of the type of "to the shooting of Rastrelli." Next, Roosevelt and Churchill are not "playing the fool" at the grave of a generalissimo, but are simply rejoicing that a powerful enemy has perished. There exist, of course, dozens of photodocuments confirming the fidelity of just such impressions as Einstein slyly sticking out his tongue. This was his own favorite photo and he himself included it in his autobiography. Thus, who is talking nonsense here—the tendentious critics or I, it bears thinking about.

And finally, I never ever said anywhere that my creative treatment of the great and wonderful, monstrous and tragic XXth century is the ultimate truth. Let there be other versions—as many as there are artists capable of it.

The exhibition has closed now in Moscow; next it will open in Odessa, then in Leningrad. And with all my heart I want to thank the numerous viewers who had the patience to stand in line for long hours to see this exhibition of my humble works. In the final analysis, I think, the people are the highest judges for any artist.

9285

**Legal Scholar Examines Implications of  
'Rule-of-Law' State**  
*18000071 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 p 3*

[Article by M. Baglay, doctor of juridical sciences, professor: "Only the Law! Reflections of the Essential Features of the 'Rule-of-Law' State"]

[Text] The article "Power and Law" by Yu. Feofanov (IZVESTIYA No 173) correctly reproaches legal scholars for a certain passivity in discussing the concept of the socialist "rule-of-law" state. The explanation for this should most likely be sought in the fact that for decades the problems of the organization of power have in our country been outside the range of scholarly debate and have aroused something akin to fear. And now after the party conference it would seem to be acknowledged that the last word has been spoken, the i's have been dotted, and all that remains is to carry out the resolutions. But the resolutions only work out the political line in relation to the rule-of-law state. That state itself cannot be simply proclaimed; it must be composed from the sum of new legal institutions.

We are already hearing people say that the rule-of-law state was put together in our country during Great October, and then the cult of personality supposedly eliminated it. I think that this is a mistaken premise. Even in its Leninist understanding the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat could hardly be considered a rule-of-law state. Socialist law and legality were only in the formative process. There is nothing to say about the Stalinist period. But then the growth of this state into an all-people's state (at the turn of the 1960's) created the objective conditions for transforming this state into a rule-of-law state. Unfortunately, instead of this we got a period of stagnation with its peculiar deviations from legality, corruption, and the like. So we are not sinning against the truth if we say: the foundations of the socialist rule-of-law state in our country are being laid by restructuring.

We should not try to pretend that we ourselves thought up this idea, or at least the term. The idea of the rule-of-law state was formulated in the 17th-19th centuries. In the United States and Great Britain it (called the "government of laws") was an original reaction to uncontrolled authority in the feudal structure, where the monarch combined in himself the legislative, executive, and judicial power. The very idea of the rule-of-law state consisted in limiting arbitrary power and trying to subordinate it to a higher law. In practice such states only developed after World War II.

Despite the differences in historical conditions, or more correctly with due regard for them, the idea of the rule-of-law state on the logical level is expected to perform the same functions in socialist society: to serve as a counterweight to excessive concentration of power in particular hands and to guarantee the rights and

liberties of citizens. Really, how does this not fit socialism? I think that it fits perfectly. It is another matter that under capitalist conditions the rule-of-law state does not have such a broad base among the masses and in fact skirts around the social interests of the citizens (even though it is sometimes called a "social justice" state). But this is already related to differences in the class nature of the state under conditions of socialism and capitalism.

I do not think it is an empty question to ask: why do we really have to introduce a new term and corresponding institutions relative to our state? Certainly a great deal has been said about strengthening legality, the development of democratism, broadening participation by the masses in governing the state, and so on. That is true. Nonetheless, the main thing has been missing: a recognition that the highest value is human freedom (precisely freedom and not just well-being, although it too is very important). There have not been effective preventatives against slipping toward a regime of personal power. Therefore, formation of the rule-of-law state presupposed the introduction of fundamentally new state-legal institutions which have the nature of democratic guarantees.

I will begin with the need to guarantee the "rule of law." This approach seems correct, but limited. I think that we must begin by affirming another, broader principle—the supremacy of parliament and its power to monitor the executive power. The "rule of law" is possible on the condition that laws are adopted only by a popularly elected representative body, that the court applies the laws and violation of the law, even by the head of state, entails inevitable punishment. This is the most fundamental principle of the constitutional regime and has the purpose of preventing normative enactments by the government and the similar trend in the party apparatus.

Preparations are underway today for a major reform of the Supreme Soviet which will result in its becoming a permanently operating body. But how can we make sure that a certain legislative professionalism is expressed in its composition and its work? Make sure that draft laws are developed by the legislators themselves, not received from outside "for approval?" At the present time these are questions without answers. I think that first of all we must introduce individual legislative initiative for deputies and develop democratic rules that envision the procedure for making amendments and for passage of a draft law through the houses. It would be very desirable (but only as the result of free elections) if the membership of the Supreme Soviet had more lawyers and professional politicians who can participate knowledgeably in the legislative process. It must be recognized that there is no issue which cannot be raised by a deputy of the Supreme Soviet.

We must be realistic: on an everyday basis the broadest power is exercised by the far-reaching government apparatus. And this is also the source of the threat of

violations of the law, sometimes unnoticed but causing great difficulties to the country and to people. It may be bureaucratic distortions of the essence of the laws, directly illegal actions, or publication of unlawful administrative enactments. Procuracy supervision is unable to watch over this mass of phenomena, and moreover it usually does not reach into the "upper levels" of the state apparatus.

This is what necessitates monitoring by the representative bodies themselves. The Supreme Soviet should regularly monitor the government, hold discussions (debates) on its activity, and have the right to deliver it (or particular ministers) a vote of no-confidence which leads to their retirement. Deputies should have the possibility of receiving any information from any minister, ratify all governmental appointments, and independently investigate cases of corruption.

A key sphere of monitoring is finances, about which the people have a right to know much more than they do today. It is especially important to work out a procedure for monitoring government decrees to see that they correspond to the Constitution and the laws. It is clear that for all of this to become reality, each deputy must specialize in some particular sphere of state administration, systematically watch over the activities of the corresponding ministries and department, and be connected with the appropriate groups in the community.

As we know, the party conference adopted a resolution on the advisability of forming a Committee for Constitutional Supervision. In relation to the laws, which are adopted exclusively by the Supreme Soviet, such supervision could only be preliminary (in other words, decisions on draft laws in preparation are submitted before their adoption). Otherwise (if supervision were over laws already adopted) this would violate the supremacy of parliament. Such a law, adopted with a quorum of deputies and signed by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, should be the highest (after the Constitution) legal rule of our system. And there should be no talk of the possibility of someone's discretion having priority, any kind of "prudent" retreat from legal principles, with the exception of a legally instituted "state of emergency."

With a permanently operating Supreme Soviet, ukases by its Presidium become unnecessary, and there will no longer be a need for normative joint decrees of party, state, and trade union organs. If the work of the Supreme Soviet is given the necessary publicity it will hardly be necessary to have national discussion of draft laws (this procedure today is mainly for public relations, because it is simply impossible to consider all the hundreds of thousands of amendments and remarks submitted by citizens of the country). Participation of the masses in discussion of draft laws should be broadened through an extensive system of appearances by deputies in labor collectives, the press, and on television.

Another key constitutional aspect of the socialist rule-of-law state is a truly independent judiciary. As we know, for this reason the conference considered it advisable that courts be selected by higher-ranking Soviets for longer terms than are now in effect. Attention was called to the need to democratize the criminal trial. Is this enough for the judiciary to become independent and democratic? I do not think so. Only monitoring by the communists, in particular by the press, can be a real guarantee.

But the main thing is that we must enlarge the role of the court in the system of socialist democracy, specifically in protecting the rights and liberties of citizens. For this purpose adversary proceedings should be broadened, viewing legal action to defend violated subjective rights as an important form of supervision of legality. Indeed, in a certain sense this form can be more effective than procuracy supervision, for the procurator has the right to refuse to review a citizens's complaint but the court does not have this right. The Supreme Courts of the USSR and the Union republics should be given the right to declare the actions of executive organs unconstitutional when reviewing specific cases and when summarizing practice. Legal doctrine should be directly equated to the sources of law.

Of course, expanding adversary proceedings will be very burdensome. But the burden can be lightened by administrative justice. Quasijudicial organs in the ministries and departments are absolutely essential to review, observing the procedural rights of the individual, questions of granting pensions, calculating payment for municipal services, and the like; but the citizen must preserve the right to appeal the decisions of these organs to the court.

World experience, and our own history too, show that authoritarian tendencies leading to lawlessness and a regime of personal power have often originated not from state establishments but from political institutions. We do not have the right to forget this and to consider ourselves insured against all such cases in the future. Let the guards against such a trend be inactive, but all the same let them be in our law. With this purpose the procedure for amending the Constitution should be made more rigorous, and early dismissal of the Supreme Soviet and Supreme Court should be prohibited. We must have glasnost and public monitoring of all armed formations in the country on the basis of special laws on the functions, financing, and management of the corresponding ministries and departments—defense, state security, and internal affairs. In a rule-of-law state all organs, and especially those which are capable of using force, should operate on the basis of law only.

The third problem is citizens' rights and liberties. The principle put forth by the party that "Everything that is not prohibited is allowed" is fundamentally new here. It contains a whole program to reorient our legislation from "prohibitionism" to "permissionism"; at first

glance it seems almost reactionary, but actually it is profoundly democratic and presupposes precisely a broadening of individual freedom. An exact knowledge of what the law prohibits is good. But changing to this principle takes time and a profound reorientation of people's life and legal consciousness. It is not a simple matter, because it involves the most sensitive institution of democracy—political rights and liberties. And in our country at the present time they are not very clearly delineated, unlike the socioeconomic rights which have traditionally received primary attention.

A definite difficulty (or better, lack of familiarity) that arises here consists in the fact that the rule-of-law state should be based on equality of the law for all and equality of all before the law. Therefore, we should recognize the political rights and liberties not just of the majority, but of every individual, unlike the situation in the recent past. And in doing this we must recognize without fear that for all its ideological purposefulness our socialist society still includes people and groups with political views other than the official ones. Society and the rule-of-law state can consider them morally and political alien, but do not have the right to make them "second-class" citizens. The rule-of-law state should protect the right to intellectual differences by legal forms; without them we will never rid ourselves of the label of political discrimination. Political pluralism under socialism should not be restricted; it should be protected in a broader and more realistic way than in bourgeois society.

Our idea of freedom, based on a recognized need and social responsibility, assumes that citizens will exercise their rights primarily in collective forms. Public organizations, which are free of any state intervention but cooperate closely with the state, are expected to play an especially important role here. Furthermore, the rule-of-law state should protect the freedom of public organizations and see them as strong and equal partners. The role of such a state in the life of society should be neither bolstered nor relaxed; it should remain on the level of clearly outlined functions and powers which never except in extreme situations impair the freedom of people and their organizations, both formal and informal.

A great deal has been done in the country in recent years to strengthen glasnost and loosen bureaucratic control of creative thinking. Public opinion has begun to form, and the state and party apparatus should increasingly take it into account. But still there is much to be done. The rule-of-law state will only be strong if it permits criticism of itself, of its institutions and officials.

And of course, the rule-of-law state should strive determinedly to strengthen legal order and discipline in society and achieve rigorous, unwavering compliance with the laws by everyone without exception. The authorities should be resolute here. It was not accidental that the party conference called attention to the need to improve the work of the militia, procuracy, and other

organs and, at the same time, to increase our citizens' accountability to their labor collectives, the state, and society as a whole. This should not mean just moral accountability, but also clear legal accountability. The state should dramatically step up the fight against phenomena that contrast starkly with the principles of socialism and human community: the mafia, corruption, and anti-Constitutional actions by groups.

Naturally a single article cannot encompass all the problems of the rule-of-law state. But we must talk and argue about these problems now so that creative thinking does not trail behind events, but rather is out in front of them.

11176

#### Moscow Police Spokesman Discusses Burglary Statistics, Illegal Demonstrations

18000053a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
14 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by Colonel R. Makushin: "Just Another Week"]

[Text] "In the past week in Moscow 79 apartment burglaries were recorded."—from a statement at an 12 October 1988 briefing for representatives of the Soviet mass information media.

No, the report by militia Colonel Mikhail Alekseyevich Polynyanikov that the situation with apartment burglaries in Moscow has now stabilized did not make the journalists happy. Unfortunately, this does not mean that burglary has begun to decline. At the briefing there was also talk about the difficulties of the fight against this phenomenon, both for the militia in general and for the investigative administration which Mikhail Alekseyevich himself heads.

Muscovites would be mistaken, however, if they said: those are your problems, the militia's problems. They are common problems because rapid discovery of crimes and, more importantly, prevention of crime depend in part on how actively citizens help the militia. Above all the silitia advises us to be more vigilant: lock the doors and windows when leaving home, try to strengthen the doors, set up alarm systems. Lieutenant Colonel M. Polynnikov cited an interesting fact that describes our vigilance. A certain Strokov who entered apartments through the small ventilation window was recently arrested and convicted. He was helped in this, needless to say, by the residents themselves. People who loved planting on the first floor put in shrubs and trees so close to the buildings that it was practically impossible from the street to see the burglar climbing up to the window.

Much more was said at the briefing about the situation with apartment burglaries, and these are the conclusions that can be drawn: the apartment burglar these days is getting younger; burglaries occur most often between 100 and 1500 hours; the most common methods by which

the "guests" enter apartments are breaking in (a majority of the cases), selecting keys for the locks, and crawling through the small ventilation window.

There were also different kinds of violations of public order in Moscow last week. They were linked with the illegal activity of the so-called democratic union.

On 7 October, as militia Lieutenant Colonel Vasiliy Vasilyevich Strelkov stated at the briefing, members of the union, appeared on Tverskoy Boulevard at 1500 hours, even though they had been refused permission for a demonstration. There were 20 of them, including the notorious Novodvorskaya, Tsarkov, and Sergeyev. Despite numerous suggestions by the militia to stop this event which had not been authorized by the Moscow City Soviet, the participants in the demonstration did not disperse. As a result 19 people were detained. As of today five of them are under arrest, two were fined, and three were warned.

11176

#### Navy Lieutenant Adjusts to Life on Amur River Border Patrol

18000053b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
20 Aug 88 p 4

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Usoltsev, Far Eastern Border District: "Two Meters under the Keel"]

[Text] "Wouldn't you know it?" Lieutenant Vasiliy Matyush thought bitterly, "I wind up serving on a river. No, I'll write a request for transfer, to the sea, the ocean. Someplace where you have scope, space, prospects."

As if he had guessed the young officer's thoughts, Captain 3rd Rank M. Shuvayev, who was standing with the newly-arrived lieutenant by the wall of the dock to which the small, low-slung gunboats were pressed, said: "Don't be too quick to draw conclusions, comrade lieutenant. I don't think you'll be disappointed that you wound up on the Amur."

But how could he not be disappointed? There was the left bank, there the right, a stone's throw apart. Was this what he dreamed of in school? Every cadet there pictured himself a kind of sea wolf, standing watch during a gale. And what kind of excitement could there be here, on the Amur?

"All the same I had better not show my dissatisfaction now," Matyush decided when he cooled off. "They'll think that I was afraid of something, that I am looking for a place that is a little more attractive, a little warmer. So we'll hold off on the request. But at the first opportunity it'll be goodbye, Amur."

During his first weeks of duty as a border riverboat man Matyush was kept plenty busy, as they say. His dreams of shoulder-boards and arrests slipped away into the background. The main thing was to pass all the tests to be authorized to perform the duties of head of the gunnery department. And he prepared himself for this with the same thoroughness that distinguished him in school. His senior officers liked the lieutenant's diligence. The fact that during all 5 years of study at the Kaliningrad Higher Naval School Vasiliy was in the thick of activities in his cadet subdivision also helped him quickly become accepted on the ship.

On a ship of such a class as a small gunboat the head of the gunnery department is not a narrow specialist. Under certain conditions he must be able to direct the actions of the entire crew. Lieutenant Matyush soon figured this out from the lessons that come so quickly on military duty and from the casual and always practical advice which Captain-Lieutenants V. Gavrilov and V. Mezhevov never refused to give. But the hardest thing for the lieutenant was the subject he particularly liked in school, navigation and piloting.

Why? Because many facets about travel on a river differ from the usual nautical features. Even the units of measure are "land" ones: distance is given in kilometers and meters, not nautical miles; the depth of the channel is in meters, not feet; speed is in kilometers an hour, not knots. The comparatively narrow beds of the river, its channels, and gulfs demand instant reactions from the ship captain and leave much less time for thinking over the situation and adopting a plan.

And what about the channels and gulfs, which are so similar to each other? It is very easy for a newcomer to get lost in them. The lieutenant still remembers how during a practice session on detaining a border violator their ship was ordered to blockade the point where two channels crossed. They had to travel along a narrow strip of water to reach the assigned region; the banks were overgrown with willows and reeds growing right to the edge. There was a very real danger of turning into the wrong channel and running aground, which would mean losing the "violator." To avoid this each crew member had to sweat and do his best.

And he will never forget his first independent watch on the captain's bridge. For some reason it just seemed to him then that something unusual would happen.

From his comrades Vasiliy knew that there had been many situations in which the border riverboat men had needed will power, resourcefulness, determination, and professional skills. Take the incident during one Siberian salmon season. The red fish were being caught then in the immediate vicinity of our border by about 300 boats that were constantly moving from place to place. But only one ship was on the "zero" line (as the border guards call the line of the border). Nonetheless Captain 3rd Rank A. Gavrilov and his subordinates were able to

observe how, under cover of twilight and rain, 11 poaching boats slipped into a salmon-rich channel on Soviet territory. Sizing things up instantly, Gavrilov summoned border guard boats by radio and himself, without breaking off observation of the fisherman, blockaded the outlet from the channel. The uninvited guests were soon expelled back across the border.

There have been many cases where the sailors have come to the aid of Chinese fishermen who get into trouble. For example, last spring the gunboat men on border guard duty heard a shout. Senior Warrant Officer I. Reznichenko led a pair of boats to the call for help. Through the clouds of fog they spotted a man miraculously holding onto a beacon marker. It turned out that while taking up the net his boat overturned and the fisherman found himself in the icy water.

In the spring when the crew sailed out for the first time after a long winter at anchor Vasilii Matyush simply delighted the ship captain with his confident, competent actions. The recent naval school graduate not only worked well as a gunnery officer, but also made the navigation calculations precisely, skillfully managed the actions of the crew, oriented himself freely on the river, and knew its danger spots. After that trip both the captain and his fellow sailors, speaking to Matyush, often called him Vasilii Vasilyevich.

A few months later Lieutenant Matyush was appointed acting ship captain, and then full captain.

They lifted anchor at noon when the sun was directly overhead, casting hundreds of golden sparkles on the Amur. Matyush was a guest on this ship. Upon learning that his neighbors were going out to work on combat training missions the lieutenant asked to be taken along in order to learn from a more experienced captain. We got to talking. When asked if he was sorry that he had been sent to serve on the Amur Vasilii answered without hesitation: "No. I have learned a great deal in my 2 years of river duty."

"And what if they suggest that you transfer to another ship, and serve at sea?"

"If they suggest it I will not refuse. But I am not intending to put in a request."

11176

**Deputy Chairman of Tajik Supreme Court Calls for 'Presumption of Innocence'**  
*18000083 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by Yu. Linich, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Court, under the rubric "People and the Law": "Considered Innocent..."]

[Excerpt] The resolution on legal reform passed at the 19th All-Union party conference states: "We must significantly strengthen guarantees of the implementation of

Soviet legal procedures such as argumentation, glasnost and absolute observance of the principle of presumption of innocence...."

What does "considered innocent" mean? We shall not find the answer in the term itself. On the contrary, the more we study it, the more difficult it is to grasp the meaning. And all because what is most important, that which absolutely must be considered when deciding the fate of a person appearing before the court, is concentrated, as it were, in this formula. All of the facts and arguments must be painstakingly and thoroughly explained so that all doubts are dispelled and disappear, and it can then be seen that the term "considered innocent" is not just words but a direct expression of the will of Soviet law, a practical guide to action binding on all.

It has to do with the legally established rule that without a legal verdict no one can be judged guilty of a crime and, all the more, cannot be subjected to criminal punishment, no matter how heinous the crime or how convincing the evidence. In legal science this principle is known as presumption of innocence. The term means that any person accused of a crime is presumed (considered) innocent until his guilt is proved by the procedure specified by law and is established by a legally valid verdict of the court.

If the investigative agencies, the procurator's office and the court proceed from a presumption of innocence of the accused (the defendant), his guilt must be established and objective, indisputable proof must be produced, or he cannot be found guilty, cannot be convicted and, most important, cannot be punished. If, however, they proceed from a different premise—that is, from a presumption of guilt (there is no third possibility), then anyone accused of a crime by an investigator or the procurator and brought before the court as a defendant is automatically guilty. In this case, what is there for the court to do? Absolutely nothing, and there is no need for a court at all. The right to determine guilt would then automatically go to the accuser. The court's duty would consist merely of formally ratifying with its authority the conclusion of guilt drawn by the investigator and the procurator.

It would appear that opinions could not diverge on this matter. The concept of presumption of innocence, which guarantees that only those who are actually guilty will be held criminally liable and convicted, is the only acceptable and usable one in Soviet justice, one which is vitally important. Unfortunately, it is not all as simple as we have outlined it here. In real life it is a far more complex problem.

The investigation of each case is actually an extremely complex task with many unknowns. Only a person who knows how the court system works only from hearsay could think of it as simply a mechanical operation: since there is a specific crime and an article in criminal law establishing liability for the crime committed, it only remains to apply the article to the given case and impose the punishment specified by it. Naturally, however, the law cannot answer in advance all of the questions arising

in life. Let us recall what V.I. Lenin said: "It is absurd to try to compile a prescription or a general rule which would fit every case. One has to have a mind of his own to be able to get to the bottom of each separate case."

Until the court has rendered a verdict of guilty, everyone must consider the accused to be innocent, and no one has the right to label him a criminal and treat him like a criminal. This is a requirement of the law, a requirement of the state. One might ask: What about the case in which the investigator has determined that a person should be brought before the court as the accused? Where is the presumption of innocence in this case? After making such a determination, does the investigator still have to consider the accused to be innocent? This goes against common sense.

Yes, it does. But only if it is indeed demanded that the investigator consider the accused to be innocent. No one demands this of him, however. On the contrary, all of the evidence gathered by the investigator must convince him of the guilt of the person he is prosecuting in order to have grounds for taking the accused to court. If the investigator has charged an individual, he considers the individual to be guilty, of course. Naturally, he still has to allow for the possibility that his opinion could change as a result of further investigation.

The principle of presumption of innocence assumes that there is an accuser—that is, someone who is making, substantiating and supporting the accusation. In the investigation of a case those officials are the investigator and the procurator. In court the procurator is also the accuser. They are exempted from the requirement that the accused be considered innocent, of course. This is logical and natural. One should be surprised at something else, though, at how easily a correct concept can be taken to the absurd if one forgets why it exists, what it is designed to do. Incidentally, it was precisely this argument which was most frequently advanced in the past by those who opposed the concept of presumption of innocence. And some of its proponents are using the argument today.

The significance of presumption of innocence lies not in what or how the investigator or the procurator who approves his actions believes. Their opinion is just that, a personal opinion, not binding on anyone. Presumption of innocence is an objective legal principle, a requirement of the law and the state, applicable to all citizens, officials, state and public organizations, and to public opinion as a whole: the accused is considered innocent until those who believe otherwise (the investigator, the procurator, the victim or any other individual) prove that he is indeed guilty.

The individual whose fate is being decided by the court has a family, has friends and a job, has a certain position in the community, to which he is linked by thousands of various threads. And all of this can be destroyed by a verdict, can come tumbling down and disintegrate. It is

fine if the severe verdict is reached for a true criminal: he deserves the punishment. If an error is made, however, if an innocent victim is prosecuted and convicted, it is difficult to rectify the situation. The innocent victim can be rehabilitated, his good name and his confiscated property can be returned to him, but how does one make up for the emotional trauma, how does one make amends for his emotional suffering and that of those close to him?

Absolute observance of the principle of presumption of innocence in legal proceedings guarantees that not a single individual who has committed a crime will escape just retribution and that not a single innocent party will be convicted. This is why the party conference considered this to be one of the most important issues in the legal reform.

11499

#### Self-Immolation Result of Harsh Life For Central Asian Women

TuSSR Statistics for 1987-88  
18300042 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by Ye. Prikhodko: "Live Torches." Why the tragedy of self-immolation is still taking place in Turkmenistan. Turkmen SSR scientist Shokhrat Kadyrov and writer Tirkish Dzhumageldyyev express their opinions.]

[Text] Today they speak about it in the republic as a tragic lesson. A 17-year old worker in the sewing shop of the Tashauz oblast consumer union, Maya Khudaynazrova, doused herself with gasoline and lit a match. A live torch was lit, and at last illuminated for the oblast leaders the dark corners of life, from which girls and young women sometimes find no way out.

After the tragedy, the Tashauz party gorkom buro discussed the question "On inadequate work in the struggle against the vestiges of the past in relation to women." As is the custom, a "plan of measures" was outlined, and the wave of the upcoming campaign will evidently not be long in coming. There is only one detail. Only a month later did the tragedy receive public recognition—when the commission from Ashkhabad arrived. Prior to the directives "from above," not one of the oblast leaders even visited the collective where the girl had worked...

Self-immolation—alas!—is not a unique phenomenon in the republic. Last year there were 34 such cases. In the first months of this year there were 22... This topic has too long been off-limits to public opinion. Today we must study the social causes of this tragic phenomenon in all their complexity and variability.

We invited a scientist and a writer to participate in a discussion on this topic. Candidate in Historical Sciences Shokhrat Kadyrov, a sociologist, participated in the

work of the interdepartmental group which conducted an investigation of the problem at the direction of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee. He was the chairman of the interdepartmental group studying the causes of increased maternal and infant mortality and is the scientific director of the Family Planning Center of the Scientific-Research Institute for the Protection of Health of Mother and Child.

**Tirkish Dzhumageldyyev** is known as the author of many books dealing with current moral problems which are particularly acute in the republic. He is currently working on a documentary narrative based on actual cases of self-immolation.

[Writer] I have been working on this narrative for almost a year. I have studied almost all the documentary evidence of women's tragedies. These materials were made available by the republic procurator's office. Among these is a soul-chilling document—a tape recording of the tale of a young woman dying a tormenting death in a hospital bed. This tape recording was made by the workers of the investigative organs. One can hardly bear to listen to the fading voice of the young mother who decided to take the desperate step because of the humiliation and beatings imposed on her by her husband—a teacher, we might add... I simply had to force myself to decipher this recording. Even 5-6 years ago the very idea of such a book would have been unheard of, and no one would have given me access to the materials.

[Scientist] Yes, we have been able to conduct such studies only now. Before it is as if we did not know that, despite the high birth rate, the republic had the highest infant mortality rate, and that the average life expectancy of Turkmen women was the lowest in the country. It was believed that the revolution, which had made women equal with men in rights, had removed all these questions. It was not customary to talk about the fact that in Turkmenia a persistent set of factors had arisen which had a negative effect on the position of women in society and in the family. The infrastructure—particularly medical services—is poorly developed, especially in rural areas. The level of involvement of Turkmen women in social production is still low. This leads to their mass alienation from socio-political and cultural life.

[Writer] All this is quite familiar to me, as to a person raised in the village. I often have occasion to visit my native places and other rayons, and I see that little has changed in the life of the women. For example, if women's labor is employed, it is only on labor-consumptive tasks. This is cheerless, monotonous work, often without any days off, from dusk to dawn with only a short break for lunch, and often under the blazing sun. Look at how the women and girls who work in the cotton fields cover their faces with a scarf, leaving only a small slit for the eyes, to at least somehow protect themselves from the toxic chemicals used to spray the fields. But this still does not protect them. When they marry, many young women do not even know that they are ill and cannot have healthy babies.

While the heavy burden of farm work falls on the shoulders of the women and children, men often work in "dust-free" places—as salesmen, cashiers, bookkeepers, and time-keepers. Moreover, the "second shift" awaits the woman at home. There is much to be done in a family of many children—and these comprise one-third of the republic's families. Here too we must take into account the absence of water lines, sewers, bath houses, and gas supply. We might add that Turkmenia is second in the country in extraction of natural gas.

[Scientist] Often the problems are compounded by inattention on the part of the local organs of authority and by bureaucratism. Our analysis of the mail received by the journal ZAKHMET AYAL ("Woman Worker") is characteristic. Most of the readers—34 percent—are concerned with problems of employment. Almost 13 percent are concerned with the difficult living conditions. As paradoxical as it may seem, comparatively few of the women write about problems within the family, although the situation here is far from rosy. This is one of the ethnocultural peculiarities which hinders the timely prevention of tragedies. The stereotype prevails: "the problems of the family are the business of the family itself." Yet our study has confirmed that it is family-marital relations which generally comprise the reasons for self-immolation.

At our request, girls and young women told us what motives, in their opinion, could prompt such a fateful act. An analysis of the questionnaires ranked these motives in the following order: loss of virginity prior to marriage and subsequent refusal of the partner to marry; problems associated with difficult material situation; impaired health; systematic beating by the husband; marriage against one's will; impossibility of entering into marriage with the man they love. Rounding out the list were such seemingly "classic" reasons as conflicts with the mother-in-law and unfaithfulness of the husband.

Self-immolation is most widespread among housewives (33.3 percent) and schoolgirls (23.3 percent). Two peak age groups may be identified: 15-18 and 22-24. There is, it turns out, also a pattern in the rise in suicides depending on the time of year. In the juvenile age group, the most dangerous periods are spring and fall—the time of marriages. In the older group, which is comprised primarily of housewives, it is, on the contrary, winter. This is explained by the reduction of social contacts during this time.

These data, we believe, must help to conduct enlightenment work in a differentiated manner, and to see more fully all the realities of the problem. According to the research data, for example, in a number of rayons a significant portion of the marriages is concluded not by mutual love, but by "contract" of the elders, which is based either on the bride-price or on the desire to become related to a more "well-born" family. Naturally, the young people suffer a collapse of marriage-family ideals, which leads to a deep personality crisis and creates a situation of loss of the meaning of life.

We must also mention the low psychological resistance of women, and especially young Turkmen girls, to the traumatizing effects of the outside world. After all, they are raised, as a rule, in an atmosphere of submissiveness, and in conflict situations this does not provide them with ways out of a dead end.

[Writer] One of the reasons for this is the lack of social experience. We, the writers, are also at fault here. This means that we have not told the girls and women that there are many other ways to unburden themselves of their sorrows, that there are laws and public institutions to protect their interests. Then again, many girls and women, especially in rural areas, have not developed the habit of reading. During their school years they spent more of their time picking cotton than sitting at a school desk. It is a vicious circle...

In December of last year the republic CP Central Committee buro reviewed the question of combatting infant mortality. A special commission for the protection of mothers and children was set up under the Central Committee, and appropriate commissions—under the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. One of the buro meetings is scheduled to review the question associated with vestiges of the past, and specifically self-immolation. We will hope that as a result, a scientifically substantiated strategy for combatting this phenomenon will emerge. It is clear that we cannot examine this question without relating it, for example, to the fact that the level of provision of hospital beds in the republic is lower than the country-wide average, or that in terms of provision with pediatricians the republic, according to predictions, will reach the average all-union norm only by the year 1992. We need decisive and consistent measures for creating the proper sanitary-hygienic conditions in rural regions. After all, as yet 40 percent of the republic's population uses water from open reservoirs which have considerable admixtures of toxic chemicals and fertilizers. There is a shortage of kindergartens and schools. And how can we not be concerned by the fact that 1 in every 6 marriages concluded last year has failed? The consequences of kinship marriages are dire, yet we encounter many of these marriages. There are also many problems in the sphere of services, whose level is today one of the lowest in the country. We must solve these problems immediately, without waiting for new live torches to flare up in the republic.

**Bigamy, Brutality in Tajikistan**  
18300042 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
9 Aug 88 p 3

[Letters to the editors from SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers: "Under Cover of the Shariat." First two paragraphs are source introduction.]

[Text] The article entitled "Under Cover of the Shariat" published in our newspaper on 18 March 1988 evoked a great response. Prejudices, absurd customs, and long

outdated traditions are not as harmless as they seem, our readers write. For women and girls, for example, the legacy of the shariat becomes an obstacle to obtaining an education, learning a profession, and creating a happy family, and sometimes it even leads to tragic consequences. Perestroyka must touch upon this sphere as well. The long silence on the true position of women in the republics of Central Asia has not facilitated the solution of this problem.

We present two letters from the editorial mail.

**Unfortunately, only an exception**

I read the article in your newspaper entitled "Under Cover of the Shariat" and thought how "mildly" you described the role that the shariat plays in our lives. We must be more truthful and frank in telling of the hard life of the Tajik women. I know from experience. By their very birth they are predestined for a subservient existence. Yes, not a life, but an existence. If a daughter is born, there is sadness in the family. If it is a boy—that is a celebration.

When she gets older, the girl goes to school. When she completes 5-6 grades (it is true the "lucky ones" get to complete 9), she remains at home to help her mother around the house. Most often there is no question of girls continuing their education after finishing school. And if a daughter should hint at this, the parents will reprimand her: "Well, what do you want? What did you lose in the city? Do you want to bring us a child in your apron? You shouldn't be thinking about learning. You should be thinking about getting married." Some schoolgirls do not even have time to think about continuing their education. Long before they finish school they are betrothed. They marry at the age of 17, and sometimes earlier. The registration of the marriage takes place according to Muslim law, and then, when there are already several children in the family—also by Soviet law. Then the father adopts his own children.

Sometimes it happens that a young girl is given in marriage to a 50- or 60-year old man, most often a widower with many children, and the young bride turns out to be about 10 years younger than her husband's firstborn child. It happens that while his wife is still alive, a man may have one or two other wives. Is this a secret to anyone in the East? The shariat allows a man to have many wives. And I know of many cases of bigamy.

What fate awaits the young girls who marry? The back-breaking toil of housework. Everything rests on her: the house, the farm, and the husband's relatives. Then there will be children—the first, the second... the fifth child. The shariat prohibits women from getting abortions.

Think about it: to have a baby every year and still run a household—does a frail woman have enough strength for this? Yes, this is a noble cause—to devote your whole life to your children, your home and your husband. But what

about the woman herself? Isn't she a person too? Ask any kolkhoz woman what a theatre, a cinema, or a circus is, not to mention a cafe, a park or a restaurant. These things are unthinkable for her. The problems occurring in the world and in the country are a "deep, dark forest" for many.

Nevertheless, we underestimate the role of vestiges from the past in our provinces. Or perhaps we have become reconciled to them? Girls, and women too, especially in the village, cannot go outside without a scarf. They must wear dresses only with long sleeves so that their elbows do not show. Their pants must be down to their heels. Just imagine yourselves in such dress in Tajikistan, where the summer is long and hot! If guests come to visit a Tajik family, the men and women sit separately, in different rooms.

Many children are born in our republic, but I do not know whether this is a cause for joy. It is not enough to give birth. You have to raise the child. However, the fact of a high infant mortality rate has already been recorded. There is a shortage of medical workers. Therefore, if misfortune befalls a home and a child gets sick, the parents most often turn to a mullah. His prayers do little good and, we might add, the parents have to pay considerable money for them! The outcome is often most severe, and in such cases the Tajiks say: "God gives and God takes away".

There are many problems. There is not enough strength or time to write about all of them. And what is the use of writing? It is time to do something. We must put an end to religious prejudices. How long can we bear all this?! It is enough to walk through any kishlak to see it all with one's own eyes—the mud houses, the unpaved roads. People wearing strictly national dress walk along the streets. You might find only one or two people dressed differently. It would be alright if only the clothing reflected ancient times, but the views do too.

I do not want to say that all Tajik girls have become resigned to their fate, no. We have many women who are doctors, teachers, tractor operators, and other professions. But this is sooner the exception than the rule. Yet we have a great shortage of cadres in Tajikistan. Maybe we could partially resolve this problem if the everyday order of our lives were different.

I consider myself lucky. I work as a teacher. I teach history, and cannot imagine life without our friendly collective. After all, work is, in essence, a second home. My husband and I married for love. He is a doctor. Our parents did not oppose our marriage. We have two children—a son, Vagif, and a daughter, Dinara. We live happily. My husband helps me a lot around the house, even though he comes home tired. We raise our children together.

Today, in the times of perestroyka and glasnost, we must, I believe, perform one more "revolution" in our Central Asia. Such a revolution that would allow our Tajik women become equal with the men, that would allow them to create good strong families based not on obedience, but on love, so that they would be able to raise their children in a normal manner. After all, the family in which a person is raised largely determines his future.

N. ANBAURZOVA (Teacher, Kurgan-Tyubin Oblast, Tajik SSR)

#### But the Law Implores

The national economy, science, culture and art—there is no sphere where the curious mind and spiritual richness of our women is not manifested. Many of them are Heroes of Socialist Labor, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviets and republics, honored teachers and physicians, professors, artists, and poets. This makes the facts of a degrading attitude toward women and the persistence of feudal customs in the republics of Central Asia all the more reprehensible.

Unfortunately, until quite recently all this was not openly discussed, and only then when misfortune struck. It is no accident that the facts of self-immolation of young Tajik women—this tragic form of protest against the position of being household slaves—were presented at the 20th Komsomol Congress. The number of such cases is not declining, but even increasing in some places, as for example in the Gissarskiy rayon, which is right next to the republic's capital.

On a fall day the year before last, terrible news flew over the Guryet section of the "Leninizm" kolkhoz. Zinat Tabarova, a 25-year old teacher, had doused herself with kerosene and set fire to herself. At the school she was a respected person, but in the family of her husband she was a slave with no rights, blindly fulfilling the orders of her elders. And it was not just the members of her husband's family, but other relatives as well. There were over 20 people living in the house. Zinat, as the youngest, was the maid to all of them, and they took their anger out on her. Things went on this way for 5 years. In all these years, the husband never once stood up for his wife. The woman decided to leave the family and filed for divorce. However, the ispolkom chairman of the Novabad kishlak council, M. Ikromova, adhering to ancient custom, reprimanded the teacher and did not talk with her husband.

The doctors saved Zinat. Yet even after she was released from the hospital, neither M. Ikromova nor the chairman of the "Leninizm" kolkhoz, T. Kurbanov, showed any concern for how she would continue to live. They exhibited not only indifference and inhumanity, but also

lack of party principle, as did also the investigator from the Gissar procurator's office, A. Kalandarov, who refused to institute criminal proceedings in this case, thereby violating the law.

Unfortunately, 20-year old Dzhumagul Musofiyeva from Gissar, mother of two children and pregnant with a third, could not be saved. The constant humiliation by her mother-in-law, who did not let her daughter-in-law go anywhere, who insulted her in public, and who threatened to turn her out, became the reason for the same horrible protest.

The Tajik people have wonderful traditions of respecting their elders. The elderly people hand down their life experience to the young, help them raise their children, and smooth over family arguments. But it sometimes happens that the family elder becomes a despot. Judicial practice is familiar with cases where secret crimes would occur in a family where the silent obedience of the wife flourished—debauchery, drunkenness, or drug addiction. Party, soviet and law enforcement organs and the community should long ago have taken a closer look at what is going on behind the family veil. This has ceased to be a private matter.

One of the reasons for self-immolation of girls is the interference of the parents in the personal lives of their daughters, the desire to marry them off not to the one they love, but to the one who will give the largest bride-price. In October of last year, Saitoy Vokhidova from the Arbobi section of the Gornyy Khanak kishlak council took her own life. The young man whom she loved wanted to marry her, but could not pay the sum demanded by the bride's father and mother.

Self-immolation is a protest of the weak. The strong find the courage to leave the family, not life itself. They find jobs, go off to school, and try to fight for their fate. Yet the weak must be protected. This means that not one non-working girl or woman should drop out of sight of the party, soviet or law enforcement organs, particularly if this woman has asked for help. We must strictly punish those who ignore such appeals and perpetuate frightening traditions.

Such an ugly phenomenon as bigamy also persists. Last year a resident of one of the kishlaks in the vicinity of Nurek, A. Amirov, was convicted of this. His two wives lived with him under the same roof, bearing his children. Sometimes it happens that a young man, having performed the rite of "nikokh" [prearranged marriage] at the direction of his parents with the girl they have selected, openly continues his former association with the woman he loves, who for some reason does not suit his mother and father.

Payment and receipt of the bride-price is a punishable crime. Article 130 of the Tajik SSR Criminal Code provides for 4 years imprisonment for both parties and confiscation of the kalym by the state. Yet although the bride-price is widespread, it is very difficult to enforce this statute. Both the payer and the payee deny it, particularly since punishment awaits both of them. And so, before the eyes of the entire kishlak, they herd cattle from the house of the groom to the house of the bride's parents. They haul sacks of rice and tens of meters of expensive fabrics, and couch all of this in the innocent words, "wedding presents." It is time for the republic's legislative organs to think about strengthening Article 130 to put an end to this crime.

The question of punishing persons who hinder wives and daughters from getting jobs is very acute. After all, this is a clear violation of the law. The USSR Constitution states that Soviet people not only have the right to work, but are obliged to work for the good of society. Let us add this reservation: for women with many children—and there are very many of them in the republic—this is impossible. This is why we cannot help but welcome the discussion of prudent family planning which the local newspapers and journals have recently raised. After all, children have to be provided for in a material sense. They must be given a good upbringing.

The success of the struggle against vestiges of the past is tied with the necessity of improving the culture of the population and with strengthening the new lifestyle and traditions.

T. AZIZOVA (Honored Jurist of the Tajik SSR)

S. RAKHMONOV (Member of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet)

12322

**'Pamyat' Organization Accused of Slandering Non-Russian Nationalities**  
*18000041 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 1 Sep 88 p 3*

[Article by Ayvars Stranga, Senior Lecturer at Latvian State University, under the rubric "I Suggest": "Concerning the 'Pamyat' Organization and Memories"]

[Text] When I write the noble word "pamyat," I think about its profanation by the activities of the chauvinistic and Fascist-leaning organization "Pamyat."

While reading the newspaper IZVESTIYA, I learned in a letter from research workers in the Department of Oriental Studies at the Leningrad Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences that "...the front organization 'Pamyat' is distorting the history of our nation by attributing to Jews, Letts and other 'non-Russians' the principal guilt for the unwarranted repressions of the 20's and 30's, for the violations of law and order during collectivization and for the destruction of relics of Russian culture."

These outrageous allegations are blasphemous. During the years of Stalinism, the Jews, Letts and other "non-Russians" (to use the terminology of "Pamyat") suffered in the same manner as the Russians or the members of any other nationality who were living in our country. The scythe of Stalinist terror mowed down everyone without distinguishing nationalities. But today if someone gets an itch to seek out individuals with Jewish and Lettish family names among those who created the lawlessness, this is an ignoble deed. The punitive organs of Stalinism, as well as its massive support system were not formed and did not function on the basis of nationality. It is not for the purpose of casting even the slightest shadow of doubt on the representatives of any national group that I would like to advise the supporters of "Pamyat" to read through the list of individuals who were shot to death along with L. Beriya on 23 December 1953. The list contains butchers with various national origins.

To the best of my knowledge, for the present, the activities of "Pamyat," fortunately, are not particularly widespread in our republic of Latvia. But this should not give rise to a sense of tranquillity. Let us counter the extremists from "Pamyat" with a true and fond recollection of the history of our republic and our country, of a history consisting of the activities of people with various national origins. I am writing immediately after having read IZVESTIYA and that is why my statements are not all-encompassing, this is the first thing I thought about: about perpetuating the memory of certain people who were born and lived in Latvia or those who visited here.

Firstly, concerning the memory of a prominent physician and surgeon, Professor Vladimir Mints (his brother—Paul Mints—was in his time one of the most famous jurists in Latvia and was one of the authors of the democratic 1922 constitution).

Vladimir Mints was born in Daugavpils in 1872, became an outstanding surgeon, was one of the physicians who attended to V.I. Lenin after the attempt on Lenin's life in August 1918 and he was in charge of the Department of Hospital Surgery in the clinic at the 2nd Moscow University. In January 1920, when negotiations for a truce between Russia and Latvia began in Moscow, the question of returning to Latvia the inhabitants of the former Lettish land of Tsarist Russia who were in Russia at that time was also considered at the negotiations. Since at the beginning of 1920 there was still no treaty between Russia and Latvia neither concerning the return of refugees (signed on 12 June 1920) nor concerning the option of Latvian citizenship (Article VIII of the peace treaty dated 22 August 1920), the return of a number of prominent figures in science, culture and art was carried out at the very beginning of 1920 in such a manner that they were included on lists of hostages to be exchanged (in Latvia there were 149 hostages whereas in Russia there were only 41 which allowed well-known figures in science and culture, who desired to return to their homeland a little sooner, to be included in the list of hostages. On January 27, 1920, the Latvian delegation at the truce negotiations informed Riga that Professor V. Mints had expressed a desire to return to Latvia. He needed an invitation from the Latvian University in order to return. On 29 January, the Foreign Minister of Latvia, Z.A. Meyerovits in response to the delegation stated: "There are enough surgeons in Latvia." I do not venture to guess what provoked this response from the minister. Indeed, by the beginning of 1920, three departments of surgery had already been fully staffed at the university, but it was hardly expedient to delay the return of a specialist of V. Mints caliber. A little later, still in 1920, the professor returned to his homeland and from 17 March 1925 through 1 October 1940, he worked as the head of a department at the Jewish hospital "Bikur-Kholim." In 1938, together with the well-known surgeons R. Girgensohn and K. Shtamt, he performed the first heart operation in Latvia.

In February 1945, V. Mints died in Buchenwald. One would think that the memory of a prominent physician who treated V.I. Lenin should be perpetuated. This could be a memorial plaque either on the building of the former "Bikur-Kholim" Hospital (currently 3rd City Hospital, Maskavas St., 122/28) or on the building of the former private clinic on the present day A. Upisha Street (there is an outpatient clinic for students there now). Couldn't the Young Communists in the Ministry of Public Health or at the medical institute seize the initiative for preserving the memory of V. Mints (by the way, during the time the professor was in Riga, he lived in the house where the Central Committee of the Young Communist League is currently located)?

Secondly—concerning the memory of the great Russian writer, I. Bunin. It is well known that much drama and difficulty came into Bunin's life from Riga (See "My Memories Also Call Out to Me..."—New information about I.A. Bunin.—Prometheus, volume 14, M., 1987, pp. 173-198). But now is not the time for this. At the end of April and the beginning of May 1938, I. Bunin visited Riga and made an appearance at which he read some of his works. The receptions held for Bunin were ceremonial, even though some were more restrained than those which were held in Lithuania's capital city of that time, Kaunas, which the Nobel Laureate had visited before Riga. In Kaunas, even the members of the Lithuanian government welcomed Bunin and this touched Bunin, for in Latvia members of official circles did not participate in receptions for writers. On 29 April, in the foyer of "The Russian Theater" a banquet was given in his honor which was attended by the Lettish writers, Ya. Grot and K. Skalbe. One should think, that now that a Baltic Slavic League has been formed, we would be able to think of a way to preserve the memory of a great writer's visit to Riga.

These are some reflections on preserving the fond memory of only two people—a physician and a writer, a Jew and a Russian, on preserving their memory as a certain contribution to the development of our historical consciousness and, maybe, even as a contribution to a greater mutual understanding between the various nationalities in our republic.

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#### Estonian Popular Front Congress Speeches Reported

##### Account of 1st Session

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Oct 88 pp 2-3

[ETA correspondent P. Raydla report: "Diary of the Estonian Popular Front Congress"]

[Text] Many events in these last months have been associated with the joint plenum of the creative unions of the Estonian SSR in the early days of April exactly half a year ago in Tallinn. The documents adopted at that plenum and the support for them from the people became points of departure for the emergence of the Popular Front. About 10 days later in the Estonian television broadcast "We Are Still Thinking" the philosopher Edgar Savisaar expressed for the first time the idea of creating a Popular Front—a democratic movement in support of the CPSU course of perestroyka. The initiative group was also set up at that time.

Meetings in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee followed. In May the creation of the front support groups was initiated.

On 16 June the first edition of VESTNIK NARODNOGO FRONTA was published. Then on 17 June a meeting took place at the Pevcheskiy field, the "trench epopee"—the diggings for cable ducts for the new premises of the national library—a political conference in a city hall on 23 August, the "Estonskaya pesnya-88" attended by hundreds of thousands of people, a forum of the peoples of Estonia, and a meeting uniting urban and rural workers.

These have been the main milestones along the road trod by the Estonian Popular Front to its first, constituent congress, which opened on 1 October.

The first day of the congress' work started with a press conference "Inter-Nation Relations and History" for a large group of journalists that had gathered. More than 100 of the correspondents attending the congress from countries in Europe, Asia and North America, and also representatives of both the central and republic press, were present.

In particular, questions of language were touched upon. It was noted that the proclamation of Estonian as the official language should be accompanied by the adoption of a law on language that would be designed to offer three basic guarantees, namely, expansion of the sphere in which the Estonian language is used, the possibility of dealing with all of Estonia's official institutions in Estonian, and the possibility of dealing with all of Estonia's official institutions in Russian.

It was emphasized at the press conference that the subject of national problems in the Soviet Union has for a long time been regarded as a banned subject because officially they are considered resolved. Since 1923 the national question has never been raised. Changes have occurred only recently. It was noted that up to now sociologists have not had access to accurate figures on the national structure of the population.

In response to a question about the thought incorporated in the concept of "remigration" the answer that followed was that there is no mention of enforced resettlement of anyone either in the Popular Front program or in the programs of other movements. True, there has been talk in the press about creating incentives for people to return to their own native places so as to help improve the economy there.

Those taking part in the press conference also touched on problems connected with the all-union departments and enterprises of all-union subordination.

Then the trumpets sounded for the opening of the congress. Chairman of the board of the Estonian Theater Society, M. Mikiver, made his entrance. In his opening statement, which was imbued with pain for his homeland, the thought rang out that we are answerable for everything good and for everything bad, for everything that is and will be.

The morning session was chaired by L. Koyk.

The floor was given first to the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, V. Vyalyas.

The Popular Front Congress welcomed the chief of the international section of the Czechoslovak SSR National Front, Jiri Hara, and member of the Lithuanian Popular Front [Sajudis] initiative group, Arvidas Yuozaytis.

Greetings telegrams were read from the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Poland and board secretary of the USSR Union of Theater Figures and USSR Union of Writers, M. Shatrov.

E. Savisaar presented the report of the initiative center.

Ya. Tamm presented a review of the financial position of the Popular Front. In particular he noted that institutions, enterprises and organizations had donated R80,904 to the Popular Front, and private individuals R162,271.

R. Veydemann presented a report on the main documents of the Popular Front.

Chairman of the credentials commission, M. Tammik, provided information on those attending. Some 3,701 delegates are attending the congress, along with more than 500 guests and about 300 journalists. Some 95 percent of the delegates are Estonians, with men making up 80 percent of the total. Some 22 percent are members of the CPSU. The age spread is as follows: 15 percent younger than 30, 60 percent aged between 30 and 50, and 25 percent aged above 50.

A decision was adopted to recognize the congress as competent.

The discussions then began. In the first half of the day the following spoke: representative of the Yarvamaa Popular Front U. Ugandi, representative of the Sakalask Popular Front K. Yents, director of the State Library imeni F-R Kreuzwald I. Eenmaa, and representative of the Pylvamaa Popular Front G. Pelisaar.

During the lunch interval a press conference was held on the subject "Cost-accounting Estonia and the Ecology," at which republic scholars answered journalists' questions. The main themes were perestroyka, republic cost accounting, phosphorites, environmental pollution by industrial enterprises, special economic zones and political transformations.

The thought was again heard that Estonia is a window into Europe and this window should be flung open. We must become the masters of our own fate.

Since more than 250 people had applied to make a statement during the discussions and it would be impossible to give all of them time on the dais at the congress, oratories have been organized where those wishing to do so can express their thoughts, which will be added to the stenographic record of the congress.

Congress guests were received in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, where they met with I. Toome and A. Soydla and the deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M. Leosk.

The evening session was chaired by Ya. Tamm.

The following spoke at this session: Kh. Nurm (of the initiative center), the historian A. Must, R. Tamme (Popular Front in Morskoy rayon), the economist I. Rayg, T. Karu (the Children's Foundation), R. Nurk (the Lyaenemaa Popular Front), K. Raud (the Ida-Virumaa Popular Front), Academician E. Lippmaa, Kh. Sheyn (Forum of the Peoples of Estonia), Kh. Ausmees (the association of urban and rural workers), G. Lints (the Vyrumaa Popular Front), and Academician A. Keerna.

M. Lauristin informed the congress about the work of the editorial commission. On the first day of its work the congress adopted, in particular, resolutions on the place of the Popular Front in the political system of the Estonian SSR, on attitudes toward the crimes of Stalinism, on democratization of the electoral system, on support for the CPSU course of perestroyka, on the printed organ of the Popular Front and ending the activity of the provisional initiative committee of the Popular Front, on the unity of Estonia, and on the need for the cohesion of the entire people in order to solve the problems facing the republic.

After the evening session had ended, congress participants went to Staryy Gorod to form a human chain more than 2 kilometers long around the Vyshgorod, under the slogan "The Fate of Estonia Is in Our Hands." A meeting took place at which congress guests spoke.

The Popular Front congress will continue its work on Sunday.

(An account of the reports and statements will be published).

#### Account of 2nd Session

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 October 88 p 1

[ETA correspondent P. Raydla report: "Diary of the Estonian Popular Front Congress"]

[Text] The Estonian Popular Front Congress continued its work on Sunday. It opened early in the morning with a press conference. This time the floor was given to the guests. They talked about movements in support of perestroyka in the various union republics. In their

opinion the biggest problem is lack of information. Thus, the representative from Belorussia aptly remarked that we know, for example, how much milk is obtained from the cows in Lithuania but at the same time know almost nothing about the political situation there.

By the end of the press conference in the city hall had been gradually filled with delegates. There was much of interest to see in the foyer, where the councils of representatives of the Popular Front in the cities and rayons, and also of the most active support groups, had on the previous day prepared photographic exhibits showing the work that they have done. Incidentally, from 13 to 16 October it will be possible to see these exhibits in the reception house of the "Kodulinn" movement.

The morning session was chaired by O. Burov.

V. Palm and M. Lauristin of the provisional initiative center presented reports.

The following spoke in the discussions: board chairman of the Estonian SSR Union of Artists E. Pyldroos, archdeacon of the orthodox church I. Sepp, member of the Popular Front support group at the "Dvigatel" plant K. Niydusaar, provost of Yarvamaa Kh. Meri, E. Efendityev (the Narva Popular Front), and R. Kilk (the Tartu Popular Front). After a short break the following spoke: Kh. Valk (initiative center), V. Pokhla (the "Greens" movement), first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee U. Laanem, O. Bazanov (initiative center), A. Sirel (the Kharyumaa Popular Front), K. Gerndorf (initiative center), A. Danielson (association of urban and rural workers), T. Teets (kolkhoz chairman from Raplaskiy rayon), V. Khommik (the Saaremaa Popular Front), and I. Eesmaa (the Khiyumaa Popular Front).

During the interval the delegates gravitated toward the ballot boxes. A press conference "The Soviets and the Political Structure" was organized for journalists. The subject discussed was Popular Front participation in the work of the electoral councils. Because since Sunday the Popular Front acquired rights as a legal entity it also acquires the right to nominate its own candidates (just as the "Greens," the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and other movements). Also discussed were the work on the new electoral law, the attraction of Estonians abroad to it, and the youth preparatory parliament, which would help in overcoming youth's political inertia. It was emphasized that the Soviet Union should be first and foremost a union of Sovereign states, that is, equal partners.

The evening session was chaired by U. Mereste. The following spoke in the discussions: R. Yarlik (initiative center), E. Rooze (the problem council on republic cost accounting), O. Sandrak (Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments), the sociologist M. Titma, Ya. Vikhmand (the plant imeni Kh. Pegelman), I. Koolmeyer (Tallinn State University), E. Shaumyan (forum of

the peoples of Estonia), Kh. Khallaste (the Virumaa Popular Front), A. Elvik (the Popular Front in Kalininskiy rayon), T. Vyakhi (the Valgamaa Popular Front), A. Grakhv (the Popular Front of Afghan veterans), E. Popovskaya (the Ida-Vyrumaa Popular Front), V. Rudenya (the council of the workers' collective at the "Dvigatel" Plant), representative of the technical intelligentsia V. Saatpalu, V. Khansen (the Pyarnu Popular Front), and chairman of the Estonian SSR Trade Union Council M. Pedak. Over the 2 days 68 people managed to make their statements in the oratories.

Yu. Kaevats and L. Koyk presented a report to the congress on the course of discussion of the draft main documents of the Popular Front.

M. Lauristin again announced the results of the work of the editorial committee. A whole series of resolutions were adopted (in addition to those described in our previous congress diary report). In particular, resolutions were adopted on cost accounting for Estonia, the status of Tartu, reducing migration, social justice, the general program and charter of the Popular Front, setting up a national Olympic committee for Estonia, maintaining public order (on the need to adopt a law that meets conditions in Estonia), the status of northeast Estonia (in connection with the pollution it is proposed to declare that region a disaster area), political and economic crimes during the period of stagnation, and the activity of the administrations at the plant imeni Kh. Pegelman and the "Dvigatel" Plant.

E. Savisaar made a final statement.

The general program and charter of the Popular Front were adopted.

The Popular Front Congress sent a greetings telegram to the initiator of the course of perestroyka, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev on the occasion of his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Then L. Valt, chairman of the electoral commission, took the dais. He reported to those present on the results of the elections. Kh. Valk, R. Veydemann, K. Gerndorf, L. Koyk, M. Lauristin, E. Savisaar and M. Khint were elected to the board of the Popular Front.

All those elected mounted the rostrum and M. Mikiver read out the congress manifesto.

The congress ended with the singing of the song "My Motherland My Love."

Congress delegates were invited to a ball in the Palace of Culture imeni Ya. Tomp, while journalists waited for the next press conference. This time V. Vyalyas, A. Ryuytel, I. Toome, E. Pyldroos and A. Soydla answered questions, along with deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR

Council of Ministers and Estonian SSR Gosplan chairman R. Otsason, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture Ya. Kaarma, vice president of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. Keerna, deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department P. Sookruus, board chairman of the Estonian SSR Theater Society M. Mikiver, and sector chief at the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History Professor M. Titma.

On Monday morning representatives of the mass media again gathered in the city hall where the newly elected board members of the Popular Front answered their questions. There was also a seminar on the prospects for the Popular Front movement in the USSR and cooperation with similar organizations in other parts of the country and abroad.

**Report on Press Conference**  
*18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 October 88 pp 1,3*

[ETA correspondents F. Kaazik and P. Raydla report:  
"The Party Has Initiated Perestroika"]

[Text] On the evening of 2 October following completion of the constituent congress of the Popular Front journalists were invited to a press conference that had been awaited with impatience. Questions from representatives of the press were answered by Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary V. Vyalyas, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium A. Ryuytel, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary I. Toome, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau candidate members first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers A. Soydla and board chairman of the Estonian SSR Union of Artists E. Pyldroos, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and Estonian SSR Gosplan chairman R. Otsason, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture Ya. Kaarma, vice president of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences A. Keerna, deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department P. Sookruus, board chairman of the Estonian SSR Theater Association M. Mikiver, and sector chief at the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History M. Titma.

In an opening statement V. Vyalyas said that if everything that had happened today had a common denominator it would be one word—perestroika, which the party initiated, and initiated decisively and with party directness and honesty. And if we talk about what we have heard over the 2 days of the congress then this is also an expression of the democratization and changes in our political system.

The most generalized answer to what had occurred at the congress was provided at the end of the congress' work with the greetings telegram to the new chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, in which to these titles were added the title of "initiator of perestroika." These words express the attitude toward everything. What journalists are seeing in Estonia is the process of perestroika and its practical realization.

A. Ryuytel added that in Estonia the process of perestroika is somewhat outstripping its development on other parts of the country. With the renewal of legislation the prerequisites are being created for development of the process of perestroika throughout the country. In our republic this process is undoubtedly one of the most important because we are at the leading edge of perestroika. The issues raised at the congress are not new for us. We knew about these painful issues previously. But because of the legislation, on the one hand, and for many other reasons on the other, we were unable to solve all of them. This also depends largely on all-union legislation. Whether it is a question of the repressions or of a new constitution or other issues. Much has already been done and will be done in the immediate future to solve the problems falling within the competence of the republic, for example, the question of the status of the Estonian language, on which during the next two or three weeks a draft law will be made available for public debate. The same can be said of many other problems.

They say in Estonia that a person with two legs who stands up will always achieve success, R. Otsason said. It might be said that the concept of cost accounting also has two legs on the ground. One of its supports is economic factors, the other political factors. The program proclaimed for enhancing the independence of enterprises is leading to a situation in which it is precisely regional factors that are acquiring great importance in the life of enterprises: how well trade is organized, how comprehensively natural resources are used and so forth will determine how the enterprises are supplied with manpower. Each region of the Soviet Union has an interest in these kinds of changes. It is quite clear that each republic will be economically and politically sovereign only in the event that it has adequate rights for independent management of its own economy. Ultimately the result of cost accounting will be that since each republic will be interested in improving its own economic indicators and in the comprehensive development of the economy, it will thus promote greater interest on the part of all the union republics in maximum integration and consolidation of the economy of the country as a unified whole. Herein lies the internationalism of our concept. Internationalism is also seen in the fact that the idea of republic cost accounting, which was initiated in Estonia, is quickly spreading to other places.

Very little was said at the congress about specific problems in policy in the field of culture and the arts, Ya. Kaarma noted. This is quite typical of our time. But on

the other hand, everything that happened in these two days, from the prospects for developing our nation to the language question and the openness of culture to international contacts, serves as the general spiritual background that is now taking shape in a period that is important in the development of our national culture at this period. The reorganization of cultural life is aimed at diminishing the role of bureaucratic state management of culture and at attracting new people to the organization of cultural life and its management. There are many complex problems. Perestroika has brought a certain new spirituality and new opportunities for solving very old and painful problems.

The journalists asked many questions. The REUTER correspondent, for example, was interested in what will happen with the communist party and how the leading role of party will be exercised if at the next elections Popular Front candidates gain a majority.

V. Vyalyas emphasized that the party and the Popular Front do not oppose each other. There are also communists in the Popular Front. The deputy who obtains a majority at democratic elections will enter parliament. The trust of the people must be gained whether a candidate is communist or a nonparty person.

Responding to the AP correspondent, who had asked for examples of viewpoints heard at the congress that are unacceptable to it, V. Vyalyas said that as a party worker he would be very one-sided if he had accepted everything; we must possess political wisdom in order to select what is most important and draw conclusions from it. It is essential to define what is objective, and act according to this. Each leader, whether he be in the party or the Popular Front, must act primarily by proceeding from his own convictions. Much was said at the congress that is in line with my ideological convictions, but there were also things with which I do not agree and cannot agree. However, as a party worker I am obliged to listen to what the people are saying.

The WASHINGTON POST correspondent asked for clarification of exactly what V. Vyalyas did agree with, and also his attitude toward military service.

During the course of a short press conference it is not possible to cover many concrete problems. I will deal with general principles, said V. Vyalyas. Undoubtedly, all the proposals and resolution that reflect the specific political, economic and social situation that has taken shape in our republic are acceptable. It is quite clear that our wishes also have certain limits. Wherever fantasy leads us far from reality, reason must intervene. And this is our basic principle. Naturally, we also take into account everything that each day brings us.

With regard to military service, everyone is well aware that throughout the world, including in the United States, this question has always fallen within the competence of the central authorities. However, the process of

democratization is affecting all spheres of our life, including the army. It is quite clear that the viewpoints expressed at the congress must necessarily be taken into account in order to discuss them.

And here, everyone, including journalists, must think seriously about what we are now doing in foreign policy. Without disarmament, we shall be unable to resolve any question, either in our country or in the world in general. It is therefore essential to listen to the voice of the people of good will throughout the world.

In response to a question from the representative of a Swedish leftist newspaper on V. Vyalyas' opinion of Interdvizheniye and whether he has offered any initiative in the question of a reconciliation between that movement and the Popular Front, he answered as follows: We in the central committee have done a great deal to reduce the tension that has arisen in inter-nation relations. The leaders of all movements without exception can confirm this. These issues have been discussed long and often, including with the leaders of Interdvizheniye. I have also expressed my opinion. The party is concerned by manifestations both of chauvinism and of nationalism. We are unambiguously opposed to both of them.

A representative of the Latvian farmers' newspaper was interested in knowing whether interrepublic integration of the Baltic republics could be advantageous under the conditions of cost accounting. R. Otsason answered that of course it is useful to develop integration precisely with one's nearest neighbors, but when this is done it is essential to develop cooperation with everyone, even partners at the other end of the world.

The representative of the Kiev youth newspaper was interested in the resolution of the problem of cultural autonomy. E. Pyldroos replied as follows:

The idea of cultural autonomy lies in giving the representatives of peoples living in small groups the opportunity for contact with their own national culture so that if they so desire they can be educated in their native tongue. This is impossible without state support. M. Mikiver added that the normal situation should be considered one in which the motherland of each of these national groups would be involved in this work. M. Titma noted that the Estonians, for example, could have their own cultural centers in Moscow and perhaps in other cities where many Estonians live.

The correspondent of the newspaper DAGENS NYHETER asked whether it is true that several months ago the entire territory of Estonia was opened for foreign guests.

A. Soydla replied that three or four months ago a large part of the republic's territory was open. But Tartu and the islands remain closed.

A correspondent from the West German newspaper DIE ZEIT was interested in V. Vyalyas' meeting with M.S. Gorbachev on the eve of the latest plenum.

The meeting was long and thorough. We talked about very many problems affecting both the Soviet Union in general and Estonia in particular. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary is well informed about our affairs. His attitude toward our initiatives, attempts and wishes is based precisely on their merits, and they are being greeted with a great response.

Answering a question about the language problem, M. Titma noted that making Estonian the official language is essential in order to protect the indigenous population. At the same time, all citizens of other nationalities must still have the opportunity to handle their affairs in Russian. But at the state level all affairs will be handled in Estonian. This means that each official must be fluent in that language. Obviously those officials who are not fluent in Estonian must be given an opportunity to learn it so that they can carry out their duties.

E. Pyldroos added that we must help non-Estonians to find their place in Estonia and become patriots of Estonia and interested in its development.

A representative of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA asked about Estonians' attitudes toward their fellow countrymen living abroad.

A. Soydra said that draft legislation is now being worked on that will raise our relations with Estonians living abroad to a new level. Ya. Kaarma added that a fundamental change has already been made here. The mutual distrust has started to disappear. Preliminary agreement already exists on book publication and the idea of joint publishing has been raised. At the latest Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum the idea was put forward to set up a Center for Estonian Culture that would be both for Estonians living within the republic and abroad.

A number of questions touched on national relations in Estonia, relations between the party and the Popular Front, halting migration and so forth.

#### Savisaar Speech

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian 4 Oct 88, pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "The Constituent Congress of the Popular Front of Estonia. On the Work of the Initiative Center (an Account of the Speech of E. Savisaar)"]

[Text] The prerequisites for the emergence of the Popular Front had ripened even before the April 1985 plenum. The problems were building up but were not being resolved because society lacked the kind of mechanism for control and regulation of social life that could have resolved them. Any initiative was essentially punished,

and this deprived society of initiative and the possible of renewal. People with initiative were gradually pushed aside from management and among leaders there was an increasing proportion of mediocrities. Stagnation in Estonia was not only deeper than in other parts of the country but even more helpless and primitive. As a result, the alienation of the people from the authorities increased. But we must be thankful for the stagnation since it showed clearly the wretchedness of the earlier social order.

In order to emerge from the crisis what was needed was the initiative of the masses, and this is possible only in a democratic society.

The process of renewal in Estonia started with glasnost. This encouraged the creative intelligentsia. It became clear that the future of Estonia was linked with active implementation of the policy of perestroyka.

The initial political experience of the mass movement in this decade was gained during the course of actions against the phosphorite workings. It was precisely during the course of this spontaneous movement that the ethical principles were formed and the recognition was born on which the Estonian "Greens" movement was subsequent based.

The proposals to switch to cost accounting and the decisions of the joint plan of the boards of the creative unions made it possible to formulate the economic, social and cultural goals that have become the essence of the policy of renewal under the conditions of Estonia. However, realization of policy was slowed down by the lack of an appropriate political mechanism. No hope was placed in the party or state apparatus since they had compromised themselves through their sharp rejection of the policy of perestroyka in principle.

On 13 April the idea was voiced to create a Popular Front that would unite active people in Estonia in a mass movement aimed at supporting the course of perestroika. The first support groups did not initially coordinate their activity with local problems. They were united about general and clear slogans such as "let us become Estonians again," "let us take our destiny into our own hands" and so forth. This was the strength of and perhaps the condition for the survival of the movement, because they were so general and clear that it was difficult to question them. They alarmed only a small group in the republic leadership and did not affect the interests of local people involved in the stagnation. But this stage could not long continue because no renewal can affect only general positions, and it had to be imbued with something concrete.

People gradually rid themselves of centralist ideas and the democratic foundations of the movement grew deeper. The question was raised of how to organize a new life in one's own village or city. This led to a

situation in which the demands of people united in the support groups began to affect the interests of the stagnation people at the local level.

The Popular Front was not born in a political vacuum. The process of recognizing interests was inherent in all society. A broad spectrum of political aspirations arose, and under these conditions the Popular Front was able to consolidate a considerable proportion of the population. In this situation, the formation of extreme views was also quite natural. Some people were suffering from nostalgia, as were the parasitical groups that had obtained their privileges precisely thanks to the Stalinist tenor of society. This kind of nostalgia was close to the hearts of certain official strata and, unfortunately, a considerable proportion of the Russian-speaking population, for whom Stalinist national policy had objectively created a special position and placed them in both an economically and culturally and politically privileged position. Here, many of them failed to realize that by destroying the countryside in central Russia, Stalinism had taken from them their most precious possession—their home.

The nostalgia of other people also tried to turn back history—to 1939, or even better to 1938. Typically those people have failed to see the content behind the form. They want to restore state independence, failing to understand that self-determination of the peoples can be expressed in different forms. The goal of the Popular Front is to achieve a new content that is expressed in the sovereignty of the republic, a program of republic cost accounting, and humanism and democracy. How we achieve this will depend on the specific conditions and they will be determined by the political realities.

Nostalgia of this type is also dear to some Estonians in the youth groups who think that sovereignty can be achieved in no other way than as a separate state. They do not believe that it is possible for a supercentralized state to become a union of sovereign states. They do not believe that the present arrangement of society can protect them in the future. The policy of the central authorities and Estonian Communist Party leadership in past decades, when for a long time the party was unable or reluctant to defend the interests of Estonians on their own land, has led these groups to their negative perceptions. Positive shifts have recently occurred here but they will bear fruit and change attitudes only after years. It is impossible to restore trust in the party in a few months when it has been lost for years.

One typical feature of the extremist groups is that they are attacking all the rest, and the Popular Front, by dint of its own political position, is hampering them. It is easy to build up political capital by criticizing the Popular Front. This is being done by those who call the pickets at the drama theater secret agents of the Popular Front, and by those who reproach the Popular Front for its cooperation with party and soviet organs. Both these extremes are trying to drag the Popular Front to their own

positions. Under these conditions the Popular Front has been forced to define on an urgent basis its attitude toward questions of national relations and sovereignty.

From the viewpoint of the Popular Front our mission also stems from the structure and disposition of political forces: a search for opportunities for cooperation with the various groupings in order to achieve a sociopolitical balance in society.

Undoubtedly there are also those who lean toward the extreme within the Popular Front. But they differ from groupings not in the Popular Front by their understanding of the fact that henceforth it is possible to advance only by means of cooperation between the forces actually existing, and not through confrontation. The Popular Front is an interweaving of many other organizations and movements. A poll conducted among the aktiv showed that 28 percent of our representatives are members of the CPSU, 19 percent are members of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, 10 percent are associated with the "Greens, 2 percent with religious societies, and 0.2 percent of the "Estonian Party of National Independence" [EPNN] and the MRP-AEG. Our congress today also sets itself the goal of consolidating this political diversity for the purpose of renewal and democracy.

The goal of the Popular Front differs significantly from the goals of many other movements and organizations, but cooperation with them in carrying out various kinds of specific actions is possible, and these actions are in line with Popular Front principles. Accordingly, 49 percent of representatives polled support contacts with the Independent Youth Forum and other trends, while with regard to the EPNN and MRP-AEG many representatives prefer to assume neutral positions. A clear-cut answer was given with regard to the so-called International Movement. Four-fifths of those polled believe that there must be uncompromising opposition to it. The main reason given for this is the antidemocratic nature of the movement, clearly expressed in the interpretation of national relations.

As already noted, more than one-fourth of representatives are communists. Their position in the Popular Front was extremely complex, especially during the initial period when there was no unified position with respect to the Popular Front within the Estonian Communist Party leadership. These were people who convincingly support perestroika in the party and for whom the hopes and aspirations of the people are close to their hearts.

The Estonian Communist Party is a very centralized organization. The formal authority of the party is high, no attacks are made in general on its policy, and it is protected by article 6 of the constitution. However, the party is still not quite open for the people and it can be said that whereas the people in Estonia have come to the movement, they have in general not gone to the party.

But shifts here can be seen in the Estonian Communist Party platform for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the positions of the Tallinn party gorkom in implementing the policy of renewal, and the propositions in the documents of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum. And the Popular Front had a hand in these changes.

The political process in the republic has developed ambiguously. This is also reflected in the Popular Front and in the other movements and institutions. Whereas more than 90 percent of Popular Front representatives favor close cooperation with the creative unions, the "Greens," and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, while 80 percent favor cooperation with the local soviets, only 40 percent favor cooperation with local party organs. The difference in attitudes toward the party and soviet organs signifies that the Popular Front can now show itself to be a constructive force and executive power that is dealing with real problems and striving to find a common language with the support groups and gain support for them. Obviously V. Vyalyas' idea expressed at the plenum that the party has been standing back from life is correct. There is no other way to explain the cool relations between the Popular Front and the party committees in some regions.

The Popular Front is not a party but a movement, and it will remain so. Over these past months the party positions have been moving ever closer to the aspirations of the Popular Front. At the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum the same viewpoints were often expressed for which conservative forces have criticized the Popular Front. Perhaps, and the first signs of this have already appeared, the advanced part of the party will now also be criticized from those same positions. The Popular Front cannot be an observer on the sidelines here but must speak out in defense of the positions contained in the report to the plenum.

During the process of the creation of the Popular Front its goals were drawn and its aktiv formed. The ideas of the representatives about the sphere of activity is quite unified. Some 97 percent of them think that the main thing in the Popular Front is to realize the will of the people through elected organs and monitoring of the apparatus of power. Only 2 percent think that the Popular Front should be engaged in practical questions of the people's well-being and should move away from politics. Popular Front representatives have taken up the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" and are acting to realize this.

Analysis of the makeup of the support groups shows that the Popular Front contains 91 percent Estonians, more than 6 percent Russians and more than 2 percent representatives of other nationalities. One-fourth of Popular Front representatives are urban dwellers (this corresponds approximately with the proportion of city workers in the Estonian population), 5.6 percent are peasants, 18.4 percent are specialists in the production sphere, and

35.8 percent specialists in the nonproduction sphere. Not only the representatives but also the support groups in general are dominated by specialists with higher education who are rank-and-file workers at their own enterprises and institutions.

It can be said that all of us in the Popular Front aktiv have carried out our task and created our movement. A higher responsibility rests with us for its future. What are the opportunities and dangers that must be taken into account?

First, democratic transformations are taking place in Estonia that for many reasons are affecting Estonians first and foremost. IME and the demands on sovereignty, however, affect everyone regardless of nationality, even though achieving these goals will also give Estonians the opportunity to satisfy their own national aspirations. In other words, national relations can be made democratic only through democratization of the whole of society.

Second, polarization is deepening among Russians living in Estonia. Within the total mass we see those who recognize the need for democratization in inter-nation relations and have an attitude of respect for the aspirations of the Estonians. And another force is being consolidated, which understands inter-nation relations in a traditional Stalinist or neo-Stalinist spirit. Between them lies a quite significant stratum of Russian inhabitants who are wavering. Speculation is being made on their national sentiments, and in the immediate future much will depend on whether or not the Russian population allows itself to be manipulated.

Third, the movement of technocrats is a new trend, and their serious strength must be taken into account. In Tallinn the directors of some plants of all-union subordination are organizing support for Interdvizheniye and have written an open letter. The newspaper EDAZI has published an appeal from Estonian directors and chairmen. These documents again show that the problem does not lie in national relations. The introduction to the article published recently in EDAZI states that all problems have now been resolved since the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary is now "our own brother, an Estonian." At the same time, misgivings are heard among the Russian-speaking population to the effect that the first secretary is "not their man." In fact, the problem is not the nationality of the first secretary but that the democratization of society will threaten the interests of the technocrats. And here both Russian and Estonian directors have matched their interests. They are united in rejecting the Popular Front and also in the desire to incriminate the Popular Front and thus undermine its political authority. Activation of these groupings is taking place because many support groups have recently started to get more involved in local issues, including those that for years remained unresolved in the labor collectives or at people's places of residence.

Fourth, I would draw attention to the emergence of a trend that involves ultimatums and various protest actions. Extremists always tend toward ultimatums but they have never found support, and could therefore be ignored. But this form of struggle has been taken up by the mass movements assuming centralist positions (for the "Greens" are not extremists), and they must be taken into account. If the sense of ultimatum penetrates into the mass movements it is clear that there is no mutual trust. And the leaders who are not trusted may become generals without an army. If this kind of situation arises, then regardless of whether or not a particular assessment of a person is correct, from the standpoint of the leaders the situation is regarded as incorrect. This hampers the consolidation of society at a time when it is most needed.

In summing up the results of the process of the formation of the Popular Front the speaker noted three main goals in the future activity of the movement. First and foremost there is renewal of society in Estonia, whose key words are sovereignty, democracy, IME and progress of the nation; preservation of balance and stability in relations between the various political forces acting in society, in other words, its consolidation; and making its contribution in the transformation of the Soviet Union into a democratic state.

#### Lauristin Speech

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Oct 88 p 3

[ETA report: "The Popular Front and Democratization of the Mechanism of Power. (An Account of the Report of M. Lauristin)"]

[Text] In whose hands is power if power is in the hands of the people? This question was posed exactly 6 months ago in the hall of the Toompea fortress by Mikk Mikiver. Today there is no need to insist in the belief that the power that 48 years ago was proclaimed in Toompea was true people's power. True power belonged to a party and political apparatus manipulated in the name of the people regardless of whether that power was exercised in the form of Stalinist terror or Brezhnevian stagnation. We have gathered here today to proclaim at the tops of our voices that this last year has filled the people of Estonia with determination to manage their affairs themselves and rid themselves of any influence apart from the commands of their own conscience and apart from the burden of their duty. We are pleased to recognize that with us here in the hall the burden of this responsibility is being shared by the leader of the Estonian Communist Party and other republic leaders. This is confirmation of what comrade Vyalyas said at the recent plenum: "The slogan 'All Power to the Soviets!' means today that the party is voluntarily abandoning the monopoly of power that has taken shape in practice and deliberately placing its political authority under the direct control of the people." The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" sounded risible under conditions in which the soviets were rather the poor relatives of the party

committees, humble suppliants to the Council of Ministers and the obedient executors of the will of all-union departments. The basis of the monopoly of party power was not article 6 of the Constitution but the cruel pressure from the party apparatus and the mechanism of control over every party member, established within the party under Stalin, when the party itself was officially compared to an order of sword bearers. We want the present party to provide no pretext for this kind of comparison. It was the cruel pressure in the form of party discipline, which for communists under Stalinism and stagnation meant voluntary rejection of the independent, critical way of thinking, and often even rejecting the voice of their conscience, that gave rise to one of the cruelest dramas of the period of the Stalinist terror, namely, the transformation of hundreds of thousands of communists into voluntary or involuntary accomplices in the mass repressions. The burden of this guilt is so heavy that even today it is holding back the development of perestroyka and slowing down the spiritual liberation from demagogery and double standards, and preventing official and open admission of the crimes of Stalinism against humanity, and of all the subsequent moral and legal consequences stemming from it. The Popular Front program expresses an uncompromising viewpoint on this issue. We demand the elimination of these obstacles throughout society, including in the party. Our society is mature enough. We want true democracy and a truly legal state, not merely talk about democratization and socialist legality. The Estonian Communist Party will be able to free itself from the burden of the past only if it is not ashamed to break with the past, only if no more in the name of party discipline it confronts its members with the kind of moral choice that we talked about earlier; only then shall we choose integrity and Estonia. But I believe, I am convinced that perestroyka will continue and that neither I nor any other communist will have to make this kind of choice between morality and discipline. What is the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet elected on 24 February 1985? Its deputies now include 50.5 percent workers and kolkhoz farmers. This would appear to testify to true popular representation in the Supreme Soviet. But the soviet is 34 percent leading party workers and officials, which gives the 50 percent close to no chance of dominating that 34 percent. Only 6 percent of the soviet is made up of intellectuals representing science, culture, medicine and education, that is, people who now, in this stormy year of perestroyka, have played the most active role in society. To the point, the proportion of this group among the population is twice as big. To make up for this our Supreme Soviet contains 2 percent military people, and only 1.7 percent workers in the services and trade spheres—the very spheres on which very much depends in our social development. So that the formal principle of proportional representation, which up to now has been put forward as the only possible one and which has been used to justify the initial determination of the makeup of those nominated as deputies according to their social affiliation, does not in fact insure popular representation for the people of Estonia, either demographically or socially. The level of

deputies is also the basic level on which the Popular Front intends to show in a practical way that the democratic process will be placed on a solid legal basis.

Four levels of activity exist in the Popular Front both in the nomination of candidate deputies at the elections, and in the work with deputies and in the mechanism of the democratization of power in general. The first level is that of the Estonian SSR and the Soviet Union. In the Popular Front program this question has been thoroughly worked on. This level is associated with the entire concept of republic cost accounting. And the congress resolutions include one that expresses the viewpoint of the Popular Front on the introduction of amendments and additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution, where attention is drawn precisely to the need to build up mutual relations with the union republics on the basis of an all-union contract and the urgent need for work on an appropriate draft.

When people say that in general the entire process of democratization in the Soviet Union can take place only given active involvement by the people, this should necessarily also mean trusting the activity of the people. But up to now the ukases that have been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium testify to the very narrow range of that trust.

At the republic level we face a more complex test. This is the formation of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. While making ready for the upcoming election campaign we must be clearly aware of how important each deputy is and how important his attitude and his principles and the measure of his sense of responsibility for solving the problems that for a year now have been talked about so loudly in Estonia. And here, the experience gained in the Popular Front, even if it is not much experience, will stand him in good stead because the Popular Front is also a school of practical democracy.

One very important and integral part of the work is the election campaign itself. It is the opportunity and duty of the candidates to acquaint their electorate and all the people with their own views, their own viewpoints, their own projects and their own programs. I therefore appeal not only to the Popular Front but also to the leaders in the mass media and to the leaders of our practical political activity with a proposal and a request, namely, to think in good time about how our televisions and our press will serve these goals. Democracy is by no means a simple matter. What is needed here is not only the will and the desire. For example, democracy also needs prosaic things such as premises and equipment.

And the last levels are the local levels. The local authorities, and with them the fourth level—the labor collective. It is precisely at the local level, in the rayons and cities, that the mechanism of democratization has been most clearly seen. We already see in many rayons how the Popular Front has in practice created the kind of pressure from the bottom without which democracy is

impossible. We see how the new leaders and new candidates are displaying themselves, along with the new leaders in the party and soviet organs elected in accordance with the desires of the Popular Front and all the people. And we must venture further along this road.

### Palm Speech

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Oct 88 pp 2-3

[Unattributed report: "Inter-nation Relations in Estonia. (An Account of the report of V. Palm)"]

[Text] The national question in the political life of Estonia has occupied a central place and become one of the most complex issues. Today's political situation in Estonia has taken shape against the backdrop of the perestroika taking place in the country, and it is precisely by proceeding from this that we must approach consideration of any issue. Given this kind of approach to the national question we must declare its growing urgency in many regions, particularly the Transcaucasus.

Thanks to the glasnost that accompanies perestroika a process of recognizing many of the sore points in Estonia has taken place, and this has led to a new period of national awakening. The extreme need for radical socio-economic transformations and the imperative to safeguard the interests of the Estonian nation as a subject of history have been fused into a single version of perestroika, which has been formulated in the concept of republic cost accounting.

Because of the inadequate information, but not only because of this, the Russian-speaking national groups have remained apart from the development of events, and they continue to do so. As a result inter-nation relations have deteriorated. Under these conditions, the need has arisen to clarify the policy of the Popular Front as a mass movement on the national question. The movement must unite all people who favor perestroika regardless of their national affiliation. It must set as one of its main goals the safeguarding of the Estonia nation as a subject of history and at the same time all other national groups in Estonia must be guaranteed the opportunity to develop their own national cultures. It is essential to insure for all people living on republic territory the realization of their legal rights, excluding any kind of injustice or discrimination according to national attributes.

The national movement can generate enormous enthusiasm among those who have dealings with this nation but who have no basis for thinking that it will evoke the same kinds of feelings among the representatives of other nations. For this reason one of the first tasks for the Popular Front aktiv being formed was the organization of explanatory work among the Russian-speaking population. It would be incorrect to assert that this campaign has culminated in total failure. In most cases we note

obvious progress in this part of the population's understanding of Estonia's problems and the ideas associated with the creation of the Popular Front. But there are still few support groups made up of the Russian-speaking population.

We are encountering two extremes—Estonian nationalism and the great-power mentality that is a "dormant" version of Great-Russian chauvinism. From the standpoint of those who speak Russian, their mistrust results from the natural reaction to the outbursts of nationalism among Estonians. And unfortunately, there are grounds for this.

Along with the businesslike and well-considered pieces on the subject of perestroika in the republic's mass media, there are also many poorly considered materials. Passions have been roused. Neither has any use accrued from the long-drawn-out debate on the issues of an official language and citizenship, which has frequently lacked specificity and proceeded on the basis of rumor. It is precisely thanks to this that questions of language and citizenship have become a kind of watchword of confrontation based on national affiliation.

In light of the above we can only welcome the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro resolution on elucidating inter-nation relations in the mass media.

As politicians the members of the Popular Front must give due consideration to the fact that in order to introduce amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution a two-thirds majority is needed in the Supreme Soviet. And this also forces us to consider the versions of paragraph 1.5 of the Popular Front program. An incorrect formulation of this paragraph will lead to a situation in which in the future it will be necessary to abandon attempts to explain anything to Russian-speaking readers and audiences. While the revolution remains a song and the game remains within the confines of democracy, strength lies not in the muscles but in voices.

The unusually frank report of V. Vyalyas at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum and its approval by the plenum have exerted a positive influence on the internal political situation in the republic. The report was also a clear-cut expression of the issues affecting national policy. There are no differences of principle in these questions between the Popular Front and the Estonian Communist Party. All that remains is to smooth out the pits and bumps that are making the wagon stick on the road.

It seems expedient to convene within the republic the kind of meeting of the party aktiv at which, so to speak, the two sides could hold discussions and adopt resolutions in the problems of inter-nation relations.

It remains to clarify better what wishes in this field the provisional initiative center should pass on to the organs elected by the congress. These are, first, that since the

range of national problems has been raised by the Estonians, then responsibility should also rest with them. It is essential to guarantee the self-possession and correctness of the Estonians no matter what may occur on the other side. Second, it is necessary to patiently continue the efforts to attract the Russian-speaking part of the population to the organizational structure and realization of the program ideas of support for perestroika. Here it is worthwhile seriously considering the proposal to set up a quite independent Russian-speaking section of the Popular Front. We must just as patiently continue to explain that the introduction of an official language and the establishment of citizenship of the Estonian SSR will not lead to discrimination against the interests of workers who speak Russian even though officials and workers in the services sphere will after a certain time need appropriate certification of knowledge of the language, which is normal and fair. It is essential to continue also to explain that it is quite groundless to link the Popular Front with speculation on Estonia's secession from the Soviet Union. At the same time it is essential to raise political standards to the level at which any formulation of the question that does not move beyond the limits of the Constitution should not become reason for an outburst of passion based on absolute intolerance.

Having established its authority, the initiative center is convinced that, guided by its own elected organs, the Popular Front will succeed in arriving at a constructive resolution of the national question also, thus insuring the irreversibility of perestroika in Estonia, which would be the greatest contribution to the achievement of the hopes not only of our own people but also the peoples of the other union republics, and ultimately all mankind.

**Veydemann Speech**  
*18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Oct 88 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "The Basic Documents of the Popular Front. (An Account of the Report of R. Veydemann)"]

[Text] If they do not want to suffocate in their own random elements, all movements, organizations or parties must define their goals and mark out ways to achieve them. But it is little enough to recognize the need for a program. The main thing is what kind of a program: will it be a call to action, will it inspire, will it unite people, will it correspond to their demands and hopes? It was by this that the Popular Front initiative center was guided when in April it started to formulate the first program lines.

On 14 May a committee was set up in the initiative center to work on the program. The committee was made up of dozens of members of initiative groups and the support groups. Agreement was reached immediately that after the "bones" of the program had been shaped it would be passed to specialists for further work and additions. At the same time it became clear that along

with the program what was needed was one more basic document—the legal foundation of the Popular Front. Initiative center member E. Kornel set to work on its preparation. In late July the first version of the text of the program was ready. Naturally, it was subsequently added to and refined. After that general leadership in work on the draft of the basic document was entrusted to philosophy teacher Yu. Kaevatsu, whose contribution to this work is inestimable. The program of the Tartu Popular Front that was issued at the time was of great help. Early in August the program was presented for popular debate. Front-line people at the Institute of Language and Literature played an active part in systematization and work on proposals put forward during the course of the debate, and in further editorial work on the text. The Popular Front program could not have been a program for the entire Popular Front if the general interests of the people had not been taken into account in it. The general interests of the people are not merely the simple sum of the interests of the various social communities, but the common pivot in this diversity. The program had to be acceptable to everyone, an alloy of various tactics to achieve the goals set at any particular moment. Since it was impossible to express everything in it, the positions on every group of issues must be defined in general terms but at the same time remain open for further development and concretization. It is important to emphasize that the ideology of the movement is also embodied in the program.

Discussion of the program became a political school for the people. The numerous letters and statements in the press also discussed issues such as an official language, citizenship, cultural autonomy, socialism, federalism and others, and offered assessments of particular positions. The moss-covered stereotype thinking of decades began to crack. It is impossible to calculate accurately the number of letters and comments. In any event, there were more than 1,500, and they continue to arrive to this day. They can be divided arbitrarily into three groups. First, those containing general support for the program. Then those expressing categorical demands about citizenship, an official language, the time zone issue, migration and military service. And third, letters with corrections and clarifications. All clearly formulated proposals were discussed and compared with the original draft program. And if something had not been taken into account this was done in accordance with the principles of the above methodology or because the proposals touched on special programs on which work was to start immediately after the congress. Thus, in accordance with the proposals from citizens major reworking was done, for example, on the sections of the program where it was a question of ethics or social justice.

Work on the Popular Front charter has proceeded similarly. First of all, why is it called a charter? For it could have been called a statute or regulation. The motive was the importance that has been attached to this document. It is, of course, not a statute for a small organization or institution but the legal basis for a popular movement

that covers the whole of Estonia. The essence and goals of the Popular Front are fixed in it, and in turn clarified in detail in the draft program. The charter records the principles for participation in the movement and for the development of the Popular Front from the support groups up to its highest organ. It contains the principles of relations and cooperation with state organs, public organizations and other associations and movements. The charter reflects the instructions for Popular Front activity as a legal entity and points out the the Popular Front is part of the Estonian SSR's political system.

A large group of people also worked on the charter—specialists in various fields. Naturally, the tone here was set by the lawyers. The present draft charter differs in many respects from the version published in the Popular Front newsheet No 5 and the newspaper EDAZI. It contains a multitude of thoroughly worked proposals received during the course of the debate. Notwithstanding, as in the program, the charter also contains many provisions and formulations that will be finally worked out by the congress. Thus, in the program questions concerning migration, the fate of Stalinist criminals and military service are essentially set forth as alternatives. Many letters have contained demands not to restrict things merely to publishing the names of Stalinist criminals, as was written into the draft program, but to bring them to justice. It seems to us that this kind of radicalism is at variance with the ethical principles of our movement. But on the other hand, it can be asked whether it is ethical not to prosecute people who have committed crimes against humanity. There was serious discussion of this question in the consultative council, as there was on the entire document. We have neither the authority nor the moral right to report on the results of the discussion since we do not want to influence the choice made by the congress. But the editorial commission will take the position of the consultative council into account when drawing up the final version of the draft program before it is submitted for confirmation. The congress must also make a decision on open questions in the draft charter, such as the age qualification for members of the Popular Front, a precise name for its highest organ, and certain other formulations and provisions. The program committee at the initiative center has completed its activity and with this lays down its powers.

#### Report on Other Speeches

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Oct 88 pp 2-3

[Report by ETA correspondents A. Ploompuu and P. Raydla: "The Constituent Congress of the Popular Front of Estonia. Where Does the Shoe Pinch?"]

[Excerpt] Many people wanted to speak—250 of them. It is clear that it is impossible to carry on the pages of the newspaper everything that was said in the hall over the two days. We can only hope that what Edgar Savisaar

promised will come true: he reported that it is the intention to publish a complete stenographic transcript of the congress over the next two months.

In this survey we will probably not even name all those who spoke. These almost 50 people have already been named in the congress diaries that have been published. We think that the problems are more important than the names.

And so, where does the shoe pinch?

### How To Make Policy?

All of us are still amateurs in politics, M. Titma said. Notwithstanding, we are beginning to make policy. It is by no means a matter of indifference whether or not a politician respects his opponent. Our strength obviously lies not in imposing our will but in our spirit and reason.

Take, for example, questions of migration or those connected with the competence of the Ministry of Defense. Fresh policies will scarcely provide a final solution to them. Or another example, affecting the electoral procedures that have just been instituted here: the simplest thing would be to strike out the unknown names. And so this procedure is not distinguished by any special sense of democracy. But as they say, we learn from our mistakes, and learn we must.

Representatives of East Virumaa (northeast Estonia) are dissatisfied with the attitude of the local authorities toward the Popular Front. Well, this is proof of the "ability" to make policy. To the point, it is precisely in the northeast of Estonia that there is a lack of Russian-language information on the republic's problems or it is "presented" in the most tendentious fashion.

V. Saatpalu told delegates about his theses. Several examples. The thesis on radicalness: it is also necessary to know the measure of edification. The thesis on personality cult: endless invocations—substitutions for names: the congress decided, the plenum resolved. And these invocations often make up the greater part of the speeches of some leading figures. As if they had no heads on their shoulders!

E. Pyldroos noted that European political culture does not mean just one finished set of procedural rules. Of course, they are important. But first and foremost political culture means tolerance and the ability to conduct unconstrained talks with one's opponents.

Assessing the work done by the Popular Front he emphasized that for the inhabitants of Estonia the movement has become a fine political school—still a primary school, but, god willing, we shall reach the universities.

In order to start to decisively treat the disease known as Stalinist colonial policy, consistency and reasonableness are essential, said O. Bazanov. I assure you that during

this treatment Estonians will find numerous supporters among the Russians. But emotions are not enough to relax the tension. Only self-analysis and the scientific approach to problems will help us arrive at the truth, resolve the contradictions and avoid catastrophic explosions.

We have thrown ourselves avidly into opening up for ourselves truths that were for a long time hidden. This thought permeated many of the speeches. And the question is: what must be done immediately in order to achieve real power of the people and sovereignty?

First and foremost it is necessary to create a mechanism for the will of the people through referendums, I. Koolmeyster noted. It is exactly this that should become one of the main directions in our activity. The new electoral law should create prerequisites for the formation of true popular representation. A new Fundamental Law is required that would reflect the principles of the people in their own state.

Opinion was unanimous that the congress should advance the Popular Front to greater internal organization while maintaining the flexibility and independence inherent in it. In other words, the position that has been gained should be fixed within the political system of the republic and the Soviet Union. The principle of pluralism of opinion and freedom to express them in all organs of control in the Popular Front should be upheld as the cornerstone of any democratic activity. Each person must have an opportunity to participate in politics—the politician is not born but becomes a politician.

### Republic Cost Accounting Is Becoming Part of Life

It can be boldly asserted that whereas those speaking held different, and sometimes opposing views on many of the sore points in Estonia, and sometimes gave way to their emotions, with regard to republic cost accounting they were unanimous; there is no other way to advance.

A. Keerna noted that the republic's switch to real cost accounting proceeding from the principles of sovereignty for a union republic and on the basis of the concept of IME would create the prerequisites for rational and assiduous management. However, assiduousness and a desire to act and love of labor are one thing; without a fundamental switch of the economy to new equipment and technology and without transferring the structure of the economy onto modern lines even the most stepped-up labor will produce no results.

It is no secret that the republic's economy is now in a crisis state and the production-technical base is considerably obsolete and old and harmful technologies are being used. Now, when planning the prospects for Estonia's economic development priority attention must be given to the scientific realization of the tasks that have been set and to the growing role and responsibility of

experts, scientists and specialists. The proposal to transform Estonia into a zone open for foreign capital within the framework of republic cost accounting, thus opening the door to up-to-date equipment and technology and new management experience and labor organization, deserves attention.

E. Rooze said that scientific work on the concept of republic cost accounting is based on the collective efforts of more than 100 scholars. It is a the largest and most rapidly developing joint scientific project in our practical work. I would like to use this occasion to express gratitude on behalf of the IME problem council for the work done by all those involved and to all the people who support us.

There have been many arguments about the problem of republic cost accounting. Evidently new disagreements may arise during the concretization of individual factors, but one thing is undoubtedly clear: the switch to full cost accounting is impossible without the indoctrination of future educated leaders. It is, so to speak, a question of a predicted future whose fruits today's youth will reap.

Those speaking emphasized that the concept of republic cost accounting can be realized only under conditions of Estonia's sovereignty, and this means that the main question in its realization is a political question, and this requires a united front and the cooperation of the Popular Front with other public movements and with the Estonian Communist Party and the republic government.

#### A Duty to the Land

The long violation of the laws of economics and social life that is now called stagnation led to a deepening of the contradictions between city and countryside. Farmers assert that the greater part of the grain that they grow goes to the table of citizens who in turn complain that in addition to their main work they are forced as patrons to help dig the fields. The dispute continues but this does not become an abundance on the store shelves...

We have common sore points, said Kh. Ausmees. But the main thing is that the worker is divorced from the results of his labor. The recently created association of Estonian urban and rural workers is designed to promote mutual understanding and attract more of the technical intelligentsia into our ranks and enhance creative activity.

Along with the development of large production facilities in the countryside it is essential to switch sensibly also to the development of farmsteading. It is impossible to create leasehold farmsteads in Estonia on a compulsory basis. This was emphasized by U. Ugandi, T. Teets and many other speakers. Without claiming any expert evaluation here, it must be said that they are by and large correct: since time immemorial the Estonian peasant has

been laboring productively precisely on his own farmstead. Obviously the demand that farmsteads taken from the peasants during the Stalinist repressions and thrown to the whims of fate should be restored at the state's expense and that those deported, or their descendants, should be compensated in full for all their losses, is just.

When talking about restoration of the farmsteads those participating in the discussions emphasized that firm guarantees are needed: the right to inherited land use should be fixed in the constitution, legislation should be augmented with a provision on the right of inheritance for farmsteads and so on and so forth.

Agricultural production cannot be developed at the expense of people's health. Up to now, unfortunately, even on some of the advanced farms, labor is simply back-breaking; people have no time off for months at a time and the working day lasts 10 or 12 hours.

Talking about the development of agriculture in regions with specific natural conditions, for example, in the hills of Khaanyamaa, G. Lints emphasized the need to create the economic, ecologic and legal bases for restoring the main farmsteading facilities and as far as possible chemical-free farming. Having regard for agriculture is not a whim of fashion but a demand of the times and it is in the interests of our very health.

In the opinion of members of the Pylvamaa Popular Front, G. Pelisaar said, means for normalizing the countryside must be sought through the cities. The outlying lands are particularly bad and only clear-cut economic advantages can induce working Estonians to return there. Working hands are needed there, and the words of the song "No Land Is Alone" should at last become a reality even in the most remote rural corners.

The list of all the unresolved questions connected with the labor and everyday life of the farmers would be too long. But we remember one that V. Khommik talked about. This is that the fishermen of Saaremaa Island, and indeed of other islands and those fishing off the mainland, must be given full rights to operate and freedom of activity in the fishing areas that have existed for centuries. It is an affront to common sense that the fishermen cannot sail even in their own offshore waters at their own discretion, not to mention the routes to their nearest neighbors—the countries in which they have so many kinsmen.

The land should belong to its real masters. This means that it is precisely the local soviets that should have the right to decide all questions associated with the allocation and use of land. Only in this way is it possible to make an end to the specter of the phosphorites and the farms vegetating under the mask of the private subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises. We must think seriously about restoring the status of the one-time volosts [small rural districts—ed].

K. Yents noted that major construction resources and construction materials are required in order to restore new life to the countryside. And from where will they come if Estagrostroy and the State Agro-Industrial Committee play the role of suppliants and are under the diktat of state construction? Hence the proposal that within the framework of republic cost accounting Gosstroy be reorganized and a modern construction materials industry be set up within the republic, and that help for individual builders be increased. The development of agriculture and rural life in our republic has finally been declared a priority matter; now it is time to follow up the words with deeds.

### Nature and Society

Whenever the talk was of the lagging of production and equipment or the meagerness of our table we necessarily heard the magic word "ecology." And this is quite understandable. For decades we have bowed to departmental pressure and placed production interests above the need to maintain a healthy living environment for the producers themselves. The emergence of the Estonian "Greens" movement was a cry from the land: "Help, save nature from the poisoning and the wealth of the land from senseless waste!"

We demand the kind of state authorities that would regard the protection of life and nature as a priority criterion in any state activity, said V. Pokhla. The ultimatum is the last means of defense against a nature driven into the corner. The leadership of our movement therefore recently advanced the slogan "Let Us Broaden the Front of Refusals!" This means that the farmer will not set up a dump on the Mukha among the juniper bushes, that the worker in Maardu will refuse to allow himself and his fellow citizens to be poisoned, that the woodcutters in Tallinn will leave live trees alone, and so on and and so forth.

At the same time and under the conditions of republic cost accounting it will be impossible get by without using nature, or working minerals, or engaging in power engineering. Analyzing the problems of nature conservation, E. Lippmaa noted that first and foremost it is necessary to stop protecting the interests of the departments, which have become monopolists, and replace this with protection of the interests of our own republic, of the Soviet Union, and of Europe.

We must pursue a principled policy, he said, and base our actions on a knowledge of the existing technology and decisively reject further phosphorite recovery, and also expansion of the shale working on its previous scale. The more so because essentially we have already reached the point of overproduction. It has long been high time to say "No" to the production of phosphorite meal, which harms not only our republic but also the entire Soviet Union and the entire world.

The following thought was expressed in many of the statements: it is essential to start by putting our own house in order. If your own house is clean then you can point the finger at a neighbor, or better, go and help him. In fact there are no small misfortunes in nature conservation; they are all big. And the cost of an oil-polluted pool or a silo is considerably greater than it may seem at first glance.

V. Khansen cited official figures: 76 percent of sewage in the Soviet Union is now being purified in biological treatment plants. And then he asked the question: does this figure include all our rivers, lakes and maritime bays? For alas! they must play the role of "biological treatment plants."

Some of the shops of the republic radio and television transmitting centers in Tallinn and Pyarnu are harming human health. There has been repeated talk of closing them but nothing is done. Who, finally, will resolve this question?

### Tension: Consequence or Cause?

Kh. Sheyn's statement was greeted with applause: Stalinist national policy in its time so skillfully mined national relations that even today it is possible to be blown up on that minefield. Administrative socialism took away people's hope and faith in the possibility of democratic inter-nation relations altogether. So that today's tension in these relations must be regarded as a consequence rather than a cause. In fact, the watershed passes mainly and primarily between the efforts of the supporters of perestroika and democratization and the forces trying to hold back this process. National relations will evidently lose much of their essential nature and ominous connotation as soon as the problems posed by perestroika are resolved: the republic's sovereignty, the principle of federation, the end of migration, republic cost accounting, cultural autonomy, citizenship. This was also confirmed by the forum of the peoples of Estonia.

It is essential to distinguish the national question from national tension. Attempts are sometimes made to depict the situation even as over tense. Is this not reflected in the legacy that has come down to us from Stalinist times and the period of stagnation, namely, the need to have an opponent, or better still an enemy? And if there is no enemy he must be invented so that in the absence of a positive, clear, honest and open platform it is possible to move over to the attack by placing all blame on that enemy. This is precisely what characterizes both the "apologies for internationalists" and the feral nationalists.

Inadequate information on the national symbolism, the plans to switch to cost accounting, citizenship and recognition of Estonian as the official language has led a certain part of the Russian-speaking population in our republic to reject them, E. Efendiayev noted. This is

precisely how the opinion has emerged that certain measures threaten other peoples in Estonia. Unfortunately, the Popular Front has also been unable to dissipate this tension. However, conflict situations can be avoided and those that arise can be mitigated: the decisive thing here should be immediate and accurate information, mutual trust and a desire to listen to and understand each other.

In every people there exist the pride and uplifting right of that people to statehood. We are not offended by this and we do not oppress any other people or prevent the existence of any other state. For us our land is sacred, and we have our own language, which is sacred to us. We have our own spiritual values and past. Let every people know this and understand us. We respect all countries, honor all peoples, and take joy in the name of the happiness of all mankind. Nevertheless, we do have the right for the greatest happiness to remain the happiness and joy in our own homeland. These words were uttered by Kh. Valk, speaking about the concern of Estonians for the fate of their own country and people.

It would be impermissible to allow things to go as far as a split along national lines, on the basis of the language that a person speaks. This also applies to the creation of Popular Front support groups. Thus, said Ye. Popkovskoy, the front-line people of Kokhtla-Yarve have protested against the attempt to divide the local Popular Front into city and rayon fronts, which would mean the creation of Estonian and Russian groupings. It is essential to promote a situation in which the Russian-speaking population does not feel itself to be alien among Estonians.

Where, then, are the sources of this tension? Are they not in childhood, for children always learn from their parents and imitate them, even their mistakes? U. Laanem is right. If the world outlook of a young person is founded on hypocrisy, mistrust and duplicity, then the main categories of his self-awareness can hardly be love for those close to him, and frankness and openness toward others and to those around him in general.

#### Blank Spots

The fact that the words "blank spots" are placed between quote marks is symbolic. Glasnost has enabled us to learn about so many dark facts about crimes against humanity that we did not want to link the silence about them with a purely blank spot. However, little is restricted in the filling in of the blank pages in our history. The task is to review the entire Stalinist historical concept.

Today history in our schools is that same Stalinist history after a little cosmetic repair, said A. Must. In the history of Estonia we have still not re-examined the interpretation of particular facts. Many authors proceed

from the concept of the worse it is the better (with regard to the past), in the hope that our enlightened today will appear even brighter against that backdrop.

The page torn from the life of the people can quite rightly be called the estate of Raadi, whose present-day user is arbitrarily called the owner. He regards the former territory of the Estonian national museum as his own booty (obtained without payment) and now demands six sheds for it, and in addition electricity and heat. Of course, the wheel of history cannot be turned back, but it is essential to talk openly about what happened.

The most acute problem remains publication of the names of those directly guilty and actively involved in the crimes against humanity.

We want to know who committed these evil deeds in Estonia, who sullied his hands. We are not saying that the hour of retribution has come because we are sure that the most dreadful punishment for the guilty is the pangs of conscience, V. Khommik added.

The truth about historical events, no matter how cruel it may be, must come down to us.

K. Gerndorff cautioned against the appearance of new "blank" spots. Thus he threw the first stone at the encampment of journalists, warning the press that when publicizing certain major events it is limiting itself merely to their presentation. But as they say, publications are not India rubbers. And events take place not only in Estonia, and the inhabitants of the republic probably want to know about them.

It is clear that no single lacuna in our history must be left unfilled. There is no need to prove that libraries are treasure houses of knowledge. In addition to premises, these treasure houses need much else. And here, in the opinion of I. Eenmaa, things are wretched. It is not enough that in our libraries you do not see modern computer equipment and duplicating facilities; they even try to save on book shelves. And it is totally incomprehensible why the USSR Gosplan must be involved with these matters. One way and another it is essential to find an immediate solution. It is a question of preserving the memory of the people.

O. Sandrak talked about the need for reliable preservation of historical monuments. The official system for the preservation of monuments is incapable of insuring their real protection. Many of them are simply in a lamentable state. Isolated efforts by activists are inadequate and the state system for the preservation of ancient monuments needs radical reform.

In fact, Estonians living abroad have recently reached out their hands to help in the preservation of monuments, and this kind of cooperation can and must be expanded.

He who fails to remember the past lives without a future. We might add that by having a solid support in the present and by looking back to the past society is able to avoid the gloomy and black or chilling blank holes.

### The Home, Children and Young People

Come the revolution something must be broken. For example, instead of the slogan "A Separate Apartment for Each Family!" we should advance the slogan "A Home for Each Family!" If every family had a home then there would be no need for children to go to boarding schools and they would grow up with people; R. Yarlik expressed his thought briefly and specifically.

Our ancestors gave birth in the bathtub. There were no problems that the child would be infected. The mother could immediately feed the infant at the breast. Paradoxically, today we do have this problem. The maternity departments are being closed because of the spread of epidemics and mothers-to-be are transferred from one city to another—from Pyarnu and Rapla to Tallinn, T. Karu said in his statement.

We can dispute the old expression that each boy will at some time be a soldier. Notwithstanding, army service is a fact. While in no way rejecting the need for this school of manhood we should nevertheless ask whether everything is in good order in the training of young men for army service.

The entire indoctrination process should be demilitarized, said A. Sirel. It is somewhat awesome to see a young child of kindergarten age in a forage cap firing a wooden gun at his comrade. And it is unimportant whether he calls him a fascist, a nationalist, an Estonian, a Russian or an Indian. Obviously, in the indoctrination process we have moved far from the concept of "patriotism" if a sense of patriotism makes it possible to indoctrinate a small boy in a spirit of hatred toward so-called "potential enemies."

A. Grakh supported this idea. True, he said, lads a little older are the draftees. Their training for the army is inadequate and they have no real picture of army life. At the same time we must strengthen antiwar sentiments in youth.

It must be recognized that in the person of some of the Afghan veterans there exists a certain danger to the democratic movements, he said. The war has left its mark on the young men who served in Afghanistan, and many of those returning from there recognize that society is incapable of fully understanding them and the "Afghan people" are disillusioned in society. Awards and privileges do not compensate for the physical and mental traumas sustained.

It is no secret that because of the inadequate publicity given to what is happening in Estonia the position of our young men in the army has been made more complicated. The label of nationalism is immediately hung on anything that is not understood. Hence also the urgent need to support our young men. One practical thing would be the publication of a pocket handbook in Russian. This kind of book about the aspirations of our democracy could be given to every draftee.

Work is under way in Estonia on republic cost accounting. Today's creators need a new shift, and our youth organs will probably be able to have their say in a rapidly changing life. Some think that perhaps it is not proper to involve children in politics. But students do not live in a vacuum, outside society. In the opinion of A. Elvik and many others the student movements should be invited into the movement if it is directed toward dealing with the acute problems in the republic.

For example, the Children's Organization of Estonia is not simply a new name a pioneer organization. The ELO is open to all, and its basic principles are voluntariness and diversity of opportunity, which creates the prerequisites for the all-around development of the individual.

"Everything for the Good of the Children!" This call should become a reality. There is no higher or more party-minded goal.

### The Church and Society

In the age of perestroika this kind of word combination no longer evokes surprise: the Jesuitical struggle with religion lies in the past and we have come to an understanding that in a civilized world there is also room for quite considerable numbers of people of various dogmas. This was also seen at the congress.

The Estonian Christian Union, I. Sepp said, by uniting the various denominations, recognizes all acts concerning human rights that are not at variance with the UN general declaration and that reject hatred and coercion. While recognizing as disgraceful discrimination against any national group living on Estonian soil, the Union is against mass migration, the result of which is diminution of rights and deterioration of living conditions both of Estonians and of the non-Estonian population whose roots run deep in that soil. There should be no room for extremism, chauvinism and nationalism among people who honor Christian precepts. The purpose of the activity of the Estonian Christian Union is to restore the value of the ideas of communication, tolerance and good will, and to provide active help in the care of the old and disabled, and to deepen the moral indoctrination of young people.

Kh. Meri also underscored the desire of believers to participate more actively in the implementation of perestroika. At the same time he noted the need to rescind legislation still existing from Stalinist times that limits

the activity of the church, the right to establish church-run philanthropic organizations, and the opportunity for those whose convictions do not allow them to take up arms to serve in some alternative way.

Speakers favored giving the clergy and other parish officials equality with other citizens of Estonia, including in taxation, and a proposal was put forward to permit teaching of theological law in schools as an optional subject. Proposals were also heard from the congress rostrum concerning Estonia television and radio: it would be a good thing if they at least relayed church services at Christmas and Easter, for it is no secret that within the reception zone from Finnish television a large audience made up both of Estonians and non-Estonians watches these broadcasts.

Freedom of conscience in the period of perestroika is acquiring new importance. And we no right not to recruit people to our movement merely on the grounds that they experience a need for religion along with their civic obligations.

The few days that have elapsed since the Popular Front congress are not enough to draw final conclusions from everything that we heard. Thoughts and impressions must defended. The more so since the range of subjects was very broad and each speaker was looking from his own viewpoint even though they differed little.

Take the question of farmsteads. All were unanimous that leasehold farmsteads are not as a rule suitable for the republic. But opinions differed on how this should be reflected in the legislation: some talked about an amendment to the constitution while others thought that another pair of commissions should be set up under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The same can be said of statements on other economic matters. There were those who unconditionally advocated the principle of state sovereignty but there were also those who called nevertheless for more detailed familiarization with the possibilities of the so-called special economic zone. The authors of these lines are not competent to offer an evaluation of particular proposals but can suggest that already in the immediate future life itself will put everything in its place.

It would be possible to talk for a long time about the diktat of the all-union departments, which influence almost all life in the republic and in particular its northeast region, regardless of whether this affects the economy, the ecology, the social sphere or inter-nation relations; and to talk about how this is reflected in the health of inhabitants of the region, who become ill twice as often as the average inhabitant of Estonia. Prerequisites for the birth in Estonia of strong and healthy children should be enunciated by all enterprises in our republic that are the property of the Estonian SSR, along with their administrative subordination to the local soviets.

Much was also said at the congress about legal questions. It was noted that if subordination of the republic's entire economy is recognized as an inseparable and integral part of republic cost accounting, then the same also applies to law enforcement organs.

Many were worried by the question of the law regarding procedure for conducting mass measures in Estonia. A proposal was put forward to appeal as voters to all deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, demanding that the highest organ of power prevent the adoption of laws that run counter to democratization.

To the list of proofs of social lagging in the outlying districts was added a provision on the lack of information. The opportunities, say, for south Estonia compared with the north are noticeably less in this regard, particularly in the sense of opportunities to receive central television broadcasts, and even programs from Finnish television.

Relations with military units located on the territory of Estonia are not regulated with republic and local soviets. An absolutely absurd situation has arisen: sometimes a particular military unit is even visited by foreign experts who are given exhaustive information while at the same time workers from the nature conservation system in the republic are not permitted to exercise appropriate control.

And so on and so forth. There is more than enough food for thought. There are also problems that require urgent solutions. And so we must roll up our sleeves and get to work. In the name of our common future.

09642

#### Russian Section of Estonian Popular Front Proposed

18000078a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 29 Sep 88 p 1

[Article by T. Burlakova, E. Kekelidze, V. Ivanov and A. Podvezko: "An Echo of the Forum of the People's of Estonia"]

[Text] We are discussing the fact that the official ETA account (we note: an account of the utmost objectivity and adequacy of content) did not contain what in the view of the initiative group that took part in the work of the platform for the Tallinn delegation was something of fundamental importance, namely, the following. At the forum, in addition to those listed in the ETA report, the package of proposals from the Russian delegation stated the following, and was approved by a majority of delegates: "... it is impossible to ignore the fact that in part of the Russian-speaking population a bias has been established against this movement (the Popular Front—authors' note), resulting from the perception of it as a purely national movement. It seems to us that the efforts of both sides are needed in order to overcome this bias.

We call upon the delegates of the Popular Front congress to take up their program and try to understand and give maximum consideration to the interests and misgivings of the Russian-speaking population. And we must through a common effort make the concerns and problems of the Estonian people understood by and important to this section of the population.

**"And it is precisely for the purpose of moving from confrontation to active participation by the Russian-speaking population in the Popular Front democratic movement that we consider it advisable to create as soon as possible a Russian-speaking section of the Popular Front as an essential adaptive form."**

It is precisely this that is seen as the most realistic path for resolving urgent problems. And this alone is reason enough to regard it with all seriousness. But there is more.

It seems that it is precisely through the Popular Front that the Russian-speaking population can speak out most convincingly and will be listened to without preconception and have a real effect.

After the forum its results were considered at meetings of the councils of proxies of the Popular Front in Narva and Kokhtla-Yarve, and the decision to set up a Russian section (or group, wing and so forth) of the Popular Front was deemed most advisable.

We would like to dwell in more detail on this factor. In and of itself the fact of creating and actively including in social life Popular Front support groups precisely from the predominantly Russian-speaking region of the republic is very important. There, the ideas of the Popular Front would be examined, so to speak, in their virgin form—precisely as ideas, free from attendant attitudes, motives and misgivings.

The viability of these ideas is also seen in the fact that at many of the all-union republic enterprises in Tallinn, where the collectives are also predominantly Russian-speaking, these kinds of support groups have been created and are being created, and the proposal to set up a Russian section of the Popular Front on the republic level has been greeted with sympathy in them.

We are in no way idealizing the situation. People think and feel in different ways, including the people of Narva and of Kokhtla-Yarve. And this is natural: the interests of each of us have been placed "on the map." One example of this is the "Open Letter to the Forum of the People's of Estonia," published in the newspaper NARVSKIY RABOCHIY on 22 September this year. This letter expresses serious concern about the problems that are today of concern to the republic's population: the official language and citizenship, the reform of school education and so forth; the question is being asked: who is interested in making inter-nation relations worse?

In a human way the position is understandable. But you will agree that finding answers and coming to a common opinion are possible only in constructive dialogue, sitting at a roundtable, and not by shouting from the opposite banks of the river. And at a roundtable not one with **opposite** sides.

Those who in principle support the need for democratization and perestroyka in our society and the ideas of activating the popular masses but have doubts about some aspects of the activity of the Popular Front or about some points of its draft program will be able to check the soundness of their doubts and refine their own positions by taking part in the work of the support groups of the Russian-speaking section of the Popular Front. Here we emphasize that participation in the work does not at all mean unconditional agreement with all the propositions in the Popular Front program. Moreover, it **does not mean** splitting the Popular Front along national lines; the proposal of the Russian delegation at the forum of peoples also talked of the need to set up this section as an intermediate stage so as in the final analysis to consolidate all progressively thinking inhabitants of Estonia. You will agree that you cannot learn to swim without going into the water...

Yet another significant factor voiced in the statement of the Russian delegation at the forum was not reflected in the press: the appeal to the deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, who will discuss and adopt laws on state language and citizenship in the Estonian SSR. "We are concerned by the fact that up to now no drafts of these documents, so important for the Estonian people, have yet been offered for national debate; the delay is increasing tension." Incidentally, the representatives of other national delegations at the forum also talked about the need to give due consideration to the opinion of the non-Estonian population on these issues. Recognition of the Estonian language as the official language and the introduction of republic citizenship in no way means forgetting about the interests of a considerable proportion of the republic's population.

Most of all, since the forum questions are being raised about the particular opinion expressed by the Russian delegation during discussion of the declaration on cultural autonomy.

In fact, the Russian delegation based its proposal to postpone adoption of that declaration on the fact that the question of cultural autonomy under the conditions of a socialist state has in general not been developed in depth and should be studied by expert specialists.

In order to prevent the idea of cultural autonomy not backed by government support from becoming an empty slogan, and to prevent the possible of distorting the interpretation of this concept, it is essential to involve a group of legal experts, sociologists and demographers in work on this issue. This was also recorded in the minutes of the proceedings.

And a final question that is often heard on the editorial telephones: who made up the initiative group that represented the interests of the Russian population at the forum? Following publication of the report on the upcoming forum, more than 100 people using those telephones and addresses called on behalf of their own labor collectives or on their own behalf. It was through the combined efforts of these people—from workers to candidates of science—that the position of the Russian delegation from Tallinn was worked out. Similar work went on in Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva, Tartu, Sillamyae... Five people, from Tallinn, Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve and Tartu, made up the official delegation (let us call it that).

09642

### KOMMUNIST Editorial on Reform in Local Armenian Party Elections

18300075a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
9 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Reports and Elections in Party Organizations"]

[Text] The report and election campaign, an important test for the communists of our country, is underway. As the decree of the July 1988 Plenum of the CPSU entitled "Reports and Elections in Party Organizations" states, they should be an important stage in practical realization of the goals worked out by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to deepen restructuring, reform the political system, and further democratize the life of society and the party.

This makes the current reports and elections unique and significant: they will actually be the first major step in carrying out the tasks posed by the party conference.

The times themselves demand activation of all communists, enlargement of the role of party organizations, and establishment of political methods of leadership in their activities. The current campaign should promote this in every way. This makes it necessary to carry over the atmosphere of the 19th All-Union Conference—the frankness and sharpness of the debates and impatience with shortcomings which reigned at it—to the reports and elections and to find decisions which will ensure that restructuring is irreversible.

The reports and elections in party groups that have been held showed that they basically were conducted in the spirit of contemporary demands, on a high ideological-political and organizational level. For example, at the meetings of 120 party groups in Spitakskiy Rayon 493 communists spoke, which is 73 percent of all who participated in the meetings. Their high party principle and heightened sense of responsibility for the work in their own sectors is illustrated by the fact that the work of six party group organizers was found unsatisfactory and new leaders were elected in 39 party groups. The communists of the party groups in Stepanavan showed a

high level of activism. Of the 194 CPSU members who attended the meetings, 151 spoke. They made 78 critical remarks and suggestions. Similar examples could be cited from most of the party groups in Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, and other cities and rayons of the republic.

This is a result of the fact that the people in the local areas were able to prepare themselves for the report-election meetings in advance, think over which issues to focus the attention of communists on, and what priority challenges related to production and the direct activity of each party member to put before them. But there are also numerous examples where party groups came into this important event in their life unprepared. This led to a situation where a number of party group meetings were slow and dull, in the best "traditions" of the period of stagnation.

Rayon party committees and primary party organizations should draw the proper conclusions from these mistakes and do everything possible to see that the reports and elections in shop and primary party organizations take place in a spirit of practical, constructive discussion of pressing problems and are distinguished by high party principle and objective criticism and self-criticism. We must also consider that the tenor and direction of the discussion at the meetings will be largely determined by the tone which the report sets. The primary party organization and its secretary can only retain their political authority if the self-evaluation of their activities leads into frank and useful discussion.

At the report-election meetings communists will have to conduct a full analysis of how the decisions of the 27th congress are being implemented in their specific sectors and what is the condition of organizational and ideological indoctrination work. It is essential here to make a self-critical and principled evaluation of the style and methods of activity of the party organization and its elective organ and of the contribution of the communists to the common work. The meeting should clarify whether each communist is fulfilling his duty fully and whether all members of the party organization are showing real initiative and fighting against cases of irresponsibility, dependency, and bureaucratism. Only that kind of discussion of affairs in the organization will help develop a constructive program of action to carry out the main lines of restructuring.

The party organization is the political nucleus of the labor collective. It is precisely in the local area, in the labor collectives that all practical work is done. That is why the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee specially emphasized the fundamental importance of the current report-election campaign in the party. The Plenum believes that it should go forward under the slogan of increasing the role of the party as the people's political vanguard, mobilizing communists to implement radical transformations in all spheres of society's life, and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. At the

meetings communists must conduct deep and comprehensive discussions of the progress of economic reform and questions of the new economic mechanism, establishing the principles of cost accounting and self-financing, and the development of socialist self-management in production.

The communists employed in the republic's agroindustrial complex make up a large army. During the process of reports and elections in their organizations they should carefully review ways to solve the food problem quickly, and determine exactly what needs to be done in practice to resolve it in each rayon and each labor collective. Various forms of labor organization and payment are becoming widespread today. The collective and family contracts are being introduced and renting and cooperative methods are developing. But it is no secret that these forms sometimes have a hard time making headway in our republic. It is the duty of communists at their meetings to work out steps to ensure effective use of the potential of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production and the new forms of labor organization.

It is also important to take a business-like approach to other pressing tasks. These are filling the market with high-quality consumer goods, increasing the volume of housing and sociocultural construction, and improving trade and the everyday services sphere.

In the process of the reports and elections special attention should be devoted to further strengthening and increasing the role of the primary party organizations. Communists must think carefully about how to improve the activity of CPSU members in soviets of peoples deputies, trade unions, and Komsomol and other public formations.

The questions of ideological and inter-nationality indoctrination of working people, especially young people, should be at the center of attention of every party organization. The events in the republic connected with Nagornyy Karabakh in recent months have shown that we have some problems in this important sphere of party work. During the report-election campaign it is essential to increase the accountability of communists for ideological-political indoctrination of working people, for their conscientious, creative attitude toward labor, and deep consciousness of their duty to society.

It is the duty of republic party organizations and their committees during the reports and elections to focus the efforts of communists on practical work to carry out the tasks set forth by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

#### Recent Local Uzbek Party Election Process

##### Heralded

18300075b Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
10 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by L. Orlova, Dzhizak Oblast, under the rubric "Party Secretary Elections": "We Have an Opinion—A Drama in Three Votes with a Surprise and an Epilogue"]

[Text] They knew each other by face, but that did not help. Even so, when the balloting urn was opened there were more votes in it than people present. Deliberate or not, fraud had been detected.

And then Yuriy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, chairman of the auditing commission, standing fatigued at the podium, overcame the confusion and announced that there would have to be a roll call.

He began calling out the surnames of persons who were not registered, but were marked in the lists of voting participants of the plenum. A guarded silence would hang in the hall for a minute, then a response from the back rows: "On leave," "Sick," or "On a work trip."

That is how the first round of voting went at the joint plenum of the Dzhizakskiy party raykom and the Dzhizak City party committee, which was deciding the question of electing leaders for the new combined party committee. (Shortly before the press had carried the ukase on territorial annexation of the suburban rayon to the oblast center.)

I do not think that any of the members of the auditing commission or participants in the plenum maliciously decided to garble the picture. It is simply that in former, and not that distant times, times from which we all come, so to speak, it was not considered wrong to come to the voting precinct and vote for your family or "drop one in" for your neighbor. We followed a pattern, and hoped that things would probably be all right, since they had been that way for so many years.

But on this occasion it was plain that the voting was not a formality. Too much depended on it; even one vote might be decisive. For this was the first time that the plenum, not the buro, was openly and with its full membership discussing the candidates for first secretary and deciding, by secret ballot, who would be worthy of this position.

Before restructuring, according to unwritten, but well-known procedures such forums would nominate just one candidate under the formula "We have an opinion." And no one had the slightest doubt that he would be elected. In reality the choice was made higher up, and all that was left for the rank and file was the right to "warmly support and approve." And within the small membership of the buro it was easy to "count up and neutralize" any malcontents.

Democracy from below, unlike the notorious democracy "from above," demanded an unconditionally genuine election and broader representation of opinions.

Therefore the ballot for first secretary included three candidates. The first was recommended by second secretary of the obkom S. Strizhnev on behalf of the organizing buro, which included representatives of the obkom and both committees that were being combined. He presented B. Makhmudov, obkom secretary from a neighboring oblast, to the participants of the plenum.

The two other candidates, M. Narzikulov and T. Miryakubov, were nominated from the floor. For the last 2 years they had been heads of, respectively, the city committee and the rayon committee. The people in the hall were their fellow workers, who knew them from working together and had been able to evaluate their style and their working and human qualities. Now they wanted to see their candidate at the head of the combined party committee.

After the result of the first vote was annulled, the second round, in which the number of votes and the number of ballots coincided exactly, revealed the ratio of forces. Each candidate had supporters, but none of them gathered the majority of votes needed for victory.

The distribution of votes showed that the extra candidates were not nominated to play at democracy. They were nominated seriously. And the plenum was serious when it refused to accept T. Miryakubov's first withdrawal of his candidacy, and his second one; and the members of the party committees were seriously prepared to support M. Narzikulov, who announced his readiness to work wherever the party would send him. They were seriously and respectfully able to evaluate the strong points of the third candidate, B. Makhmudov.

The first one to fade from the heat was M. Narzikulov, who announced in writing his decision to withdraw his candidacy. And in the third, last round the plenum voted strongly in favor of T. Miryakubov.

This is the surprise that was promised in the title of the article. After all, when they offered their "consensus" candidate from above, the organizing committee and buro, while agreeing to include other democratic candidates on the ballot, immediately tried to make them "safe." The chairman did not conceal that they both had already been offered different positions. And the hall took a guarded attitude toward the attempted withdrawals of candidacy, suspecting that they were the result of "preliminary work."

So, should we give up on any kind of preparation or predicting? Does democracy made the result unpredictable? No, and no.

As the people who recommended him in their speeches stressed, B. Makhmudov is a competent, experienced, and respect-worthy man. But he had not managed to visit either of the large party organizations and become acquainted with the activists; then at the plenum itself, meeting in person the people he would have to work with, he did not consider it necessary to say a single word to them.

Should it be surprising that in the fourth year of restructuring people who have gone through the school of democratically electing leaders at enterprises and are already accustomed to evaluating a leadership candidate by his actions, or at least by his ability to analyze or according to the election program, were not ready to vote for an "outsider" here?

In general, the lack of adequate information on the candidates was sharply felt at the plenum, especially where two organizations that had not been in contact were coming together. When I. Abdurasulov was nominated for the buro a neighbor from the city leaned over and whispered, "Who is that?"

"A sovkhoz director who in one year made his farm profitable and was the first in the oblast to allocate an office for use as a nursery school," I whispered back.

My neighbor nodded in satisfaction. But I think it would be worthwhile to give such descriptions of each of the candidates out loud, publicly, not in a whisper. Acquaint the participants in the plenum with them in advance, give them an opportunity to familiarize themselves and discuss them.

During the break I talked with Yu. Shakhrayuk, a member of the gorkom and an assembly worker at the storage battery plant. She voted for M. Narzikulov. Why?

"I know good things about him, but only him. Not until now, as things were going along, did I get any idea of the other candidates."

"And what if you had had full information in advance?"

"What do you mean, full information?" Yuliya Yakovlevna herself felt bad at her response. "I didn't even know the agenda of the plenum. I was told to be here at 1600 hours, and that's all."

It is apparent that Yu. Shakhrayuk was not the only one; a majority of the participants in the plenum, who came from their work at the farms and factories, did not have a clear enough picture of the candidates, except for their own one, and found the process of figuring things out quite difficult.

The plenum with a single item on the agenda lasted almost 8 hours. The reason for such a difficult move into democracy was, in my opinion, that they were pouring old milk into new containers. They tried to combine new form with old content.

But the facts is that democracy is not a form. And the election of T. Miryakubov was a surprise, but not an accident.

In just the same way he arrived 3 years ago at the Dzhizakskiy raykom, an "outsider," and in a short time had won unquestioned authority by his consistent social policy and ability to keep his word in a party manner, consult with the people, and work on a par with them. His informal "election campaign," which continued even during the breaks, worked.

The results of the voting in the last round showed that the people too have an opinion. And it is so strong that it crushes all formalistic obstacles and must be reckoned with.

11176

**AzSSR Council of Ministers on 1988-1995 NKAO Development Plan**

*Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHY in Russian 2 Aug 88 p 4*

[Azerinform report entitled: "In the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers at a regular session considered the pace of the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "Concerning Measures to Accelerate the Socio-Economic Development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) in the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995" and of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers resolution, which was adopted in accordance with the former.

It was noted at the session that practical steps for realizing the tasks, envisaged in the aforementioned resolutions, to accelerate the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, are being put into practice by the Azerbaijan SSR ministries and bureaucracies and by associations, enterprises and other organizations.

In the current year additional funds and material and technical resources were allocated to guarantee the start of work on realizing the tasks of developing housing construction and a base of construction organizations and designing a regional hospital, Palace of Culture, schools and other public facilities. The questions of receiving the programming of a second All-Union television station and the Armenian television station in Stepanakert and in isolated areas of the oblast and of creating an Armenian Drama theater in Baku have been

resolved. Design work is under way for expanding the furniture factory and for constructing a mixed feed plant in Askeran, a reservoir on the Badarakchaya River and a water supply and sewage system in Stepanakert and in a number of area centers and rural population points, etc. The USSR Ministry of Electrical Industry and Ministry of Radio Industry considered the question of creating branch offices in the districts of the NKAO, the USSR Ministry of Tractors and Agricultural Machinery considered the question of delivering equipment to the agricultural machinery plant, the USSR State Committee on Construction Matters considered the question of creating a branch office of the design institute "Azgospromekt", the Azerbaijan SSR Institute for Designing Residential and Municipal Buildings and Structures, in Stepanakert, etc.

In the 1989 draft plan, which has been submitted to the USSR Gosplan, the indices for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are in full compliance with the taskings of the aforementioned resolution. A working program has been prepared for the development of a "Complex Program of Economic and Social Development for the NKAO through 2005."

In 1989, the introduction of new apartment house, schools, pre-school establishments, cultural buildings, clubs and libraries in full compliance with the taskings is envisaged, construction will begin on a regional hospital with an outpatients' clinic, the sewage system and water main in Stepanakert, the regional publishing house, gas pipelines to Gadrut and Mardakert, and a number of transportation facilities, consumer services and trade. The commissioning of the ferro-concrete structures and parts production plant, a mechanization base, and an industrial cooperative is envisaged and the ground breaking will begin for the construction of a pre-fabricated house-building plant in Stepanakert.

At the same time, as it was noted at the session, the foot-dragging is being allowed in the implementation of certain measures. The managers of the individual ministries, bureaucracies, associations, businesses and other organizations do not always approach the resolution of issues which fall within their respective areas of competence with the appropriate sense of responsibility and understanding. The Ispolkom of the NKAO Council of Peoples' Deputies and other organizations of the autonomous oblast are delaying the distribution of initial data for designing the Palace of Culture and for expanding the weaving industry of the Silk Weavers Cooperative, and in a number of cases issues arising during the formulation of the 1989 plan and the allotment of land parcels are being inefficiently resolved.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has obliged the ministries, bureaucracies, associations, businesses and other organizations of the republic and the Ispolkom of the NKAO Council of Peoples' Deputies to take additional steps for the successful realization of the tasks envisaged in the appropriate resolution of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, to increase control over the implementation of the measures which have been mapped out and to efficiently consider and resolve issues which may arise.

The Ispolkom of the NKAO Council of Peoples' Deputies was charged with intensifying the work of the associations, businesses, organizations and institutions of the autonomous oblast in implementing the resolution of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers to eliminate the existing deficiencies in this matter and to systematically examine the pace of the implementation of the measures which were mapped out at the Ispolkom sessions.

It was proposed that the Azerbaijan SSR Gosplan, ministries and bureaucracies jointly with the autonomous oblast's enterprises and organizations guarantee the resolution in the USSR Gosplan and in the USSR ministries and bureaucracies of all questions dealing with the implementation of measures to accelerate the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's socio-economic development and which are envisaged in the 1989 draft state plan for the socio-economic development of the Azerbaijan SSR. Along with this they were charged with considering all issues dealing with ensuring the realization of increasing volumes of construction and assembly projects in the NKAO and recruiting additional contract organizations for the realization of the planned programs.

The republic's state supply agency was instructed to ensure that the terms of delivery for allotted vehicles and machinery to the oblast's businesses and organizations are observed as closely as possible in 1988.

Strict controls over the pace of implementing the resolutions have been established.

13450

#### Ministries Ignore Toxic Chemical Abuse in Armenia

1830009a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
21 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by S. Markosyan, under rubric "What Is Hindering Perestroyka": "Behind the Silent Ministerial Wall"]

[Text] On 25 May 1988, under the rubric "Special Correspondent's Column," PRAVDA published a report "Gorkom Against the Ministry." For those who are not familiar with the content in that newspaper article, I shall summarize it briefly. Located in Serpukhov, a city in the suburbs of Moscow, is the Kondensator Plant, which uses in the manufacture of its output a toxic substance—trichlordiphenyl—that constitutes a first-class danger.

Despite the frequent warnings given by the sanitation and epidemiology service concerning the need to replace the poison by a safe component, no measures had been taken.

This situation was known also at the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and at VNII of Power Condenser Production (VNIISK)—the lead organization situated in the very same city, but there too the attitude taken toward the problem was worse than cool. The poison was detected in fruits and vegetables growing in the suburban garden plots. The plant was fined 285,000 rubles for having polluted the environment, the question of closing the enterprise is being considered, and the technological lines containing toxic substances have been sealed.

We have the same kind of production entity in our republic. At the lead plant in the Armelektrokondensator Association in Leninakan, people are working according to the Serpukhov technological scheme, using trichlordiphenyl as the dielectric.

**Statement 1.** Since condensers began to be produced, several thousand tons of trichlordiphenyl have been shipped into Leninakan. Tens of millions of articles containing the poison left the enterprise gates and "spilled out" as a component item to many parts of the country, including Armenia.

In the shop where the condensers are "stuffed" with the dielectric, there is a specific smell. Air-exhaust equipment is in operation, but it is not entirely effective in purifying the air. Fumes are discharged into the environment, into the atmosphere. I met with F. Margaryan, general director of the association, and the following dialogue with him ensued.

"The technological scheme was recommended at the ministry, with the cooperation of VNIISK, as the only scheme and a reliable one. They said that, at the present-day stage, there does not exist any other scheme in condenser production. There exist a state production order and shipment contracts. At that time we did realize how dangerous the use of trichlordiphenyl is. However, we observe strictly the hermetic sealing of the equipment and monitor the observance of the technological scheme in order to prevent any leakage of the fluid."

"But isn't there still a danger of polluting the environment?" I ask the director.

"Of course it is impossible to give a complete guarantee of safety, because anything could happen."

"It is necessary to shut down production until the questions of protecting the environment and guaranteeing people's health are resolved."

"Dozens of enterprises in our country use our articles as components in their output. There is a state production order. Closing down our production means stopping the

production of technical and everyday items that are needed by the national economy. Closing it means putting 700 people out of work."

"But there are new types of safe condensers that were developed at the Yerevan branch of VNIISK, which is part of your association."

"Yes, but the appropriate equipment to produce them does not exist, and the materials are scarce."

**Statement 2. Since the second half of the 1970's, the use of trichlordiphenyl as a dielectric fluid has been banned in most countries. Condensers with a saturation of condenser oil, or in a dry version, have begun to be widely used.**

Items such as this have been developed, but they are not being introduced into our series production. Machine-builders have been slow to produce the necessary equipment. Certain specialists in the field of electrical equipment feel that, in this regard, we are lagging behind the advanced capitalist countries by 5 years, and others feel that there is a 10-year lag. What, then, should be done for the people in Leninakan? The question is a fundamental one. Perhaps it is actually necessary to "shake up" USSR Minelektrotekhprom by refusing to produce or deliver condensers, or by refusing to conclude contracts with the consumers. Which is more precious, people's lives or a temporary stopping of production? If the people in the ministry cannot resolve the problem, then maybe we ought to buy condensers from Siemens. Incidentally, a considerable number of the condensers that our country needs are already being purchased abroad.

**Statement 3. The author—a chief designer of electric motors—is Professor V. I. Radin, doctor of technical sciences. The following are excerpts from a letter that he sent to USSR Minelektrotekhprom.**

"...The Yerevan branch of VNIISK is the only organization in the USSR that develops and manufactures in an extremely limited quantity new types of condensers... They possess the property of the self-regeneration of their parameters after a rupture in the insulation, and their manufacture does not require the use of chemical substances that exert a harmful influence upon the environment, as occurs at the present time... It is urgently necessary to decide the question of the development of YeFVNIISK."

V. Radin's letter is dated 27 September 1985.

How many decrees have been promulgated, how many wise words have been spoken from high rostrums concerning the acceleration of technical progress! The "cart" has apparently been too heavy for the ministerial bureaucrats, and there has not been enough manpower to

get it moving. The program approved by USSR Minelektrotekhprom—the Branch Scientific-Technical Program for the Development of Power Condenser Production in 1986-1990—does not stipulate bringing this subbranch of electrical engineering up to the worldwide level.

In order to introduce complete clarity into what appears at first glance to be a "difficult question," I asked P. Khachatryan, candidate of technical sciences, director of the Yerevan Branch of VNIISK, for explanations. But, first, another statement.

**Statement 4. USSR Council of Ministers banned the use of trichlordiphenyl in condenser production in 1986.**

"In the early 1970's," P. Khachatryan said, "Yerevan VNIISK had a condenser laboratory. The course taken was to effect a fundamental improvement in the manufacture of power condensers for illumination engineering, household air conditioners, means of electrical transportation, drives for machine tools with digital programmed control and flexible automated production entities, and laser technology. There was a need to expand the research and design development, and the laboratory was reorganized into the Yerevan Branch of VNIISK. Soon the first experimental models of the new articles appeared, and several pieces of technological equipment were manufactured by the in-house method. Our technological scheme was oriented toward the vacuum metalization of progressive film-type polypropylene and polyethyleneterephthalate (lavsan) dielectrics."

And so low-voltage dry condensers without saturation with liquid dielectric were developed, and it is proposed in the future to charge them with inert elegas [electric gas] under slight pressure. This gas has higher properties of electric stability. Another design provides for liquid saturation with ecologically pure fluids.

In the current year the branch's experimental production will produce on the basis of the ministry's state purchase order for 200,000 rubles worth of condensers 10 standard ratings for transformer technology. That is a drop in the sea of needs! The branch does not have production areas for increasing the production.

**Statement 5. The lead plant of the Armelektrokondensator Association produces annually 25-26 million rubles worth of condensers—60 percent of the total production. The overwhelming percentage of them are saturated with trichlordiphenyl.**

Today, without fundamentally changing the technological scheme, and by using a safe fluid for saturating the condensers—condenser oil or phenylxylylethane—the people at Leninakan need every year only 150 tons of polyethyleneterephthalate film with a thickness of 8 microns.

Recently the association's chief engineer walked (who knows for which time!) through the ministry offices and visited three deputy ministers, attempting to "beat" this film out of them, but he did not succeed in doing so. Buying it abroad (the problems of producing it our country have not yet been worked out) is cheaper than the finished articles that continue to arrive from Western companies.

The ministry's position is incomprehensible. The poison can flood the entire country, so long as the gross output continues and the appropriate check-mark exists in the report. In a word, this is technical progress in quotation marks. All that remains is to wonder whether there was too strong an influence of the Serpukhov VNIISK upon the ministry's administrations. Or maybe it is also a matter of arrogance, and they do not want to admit the priority of the Yerevan designers and researchers—and by all the efforts of their own branch are impeding the technical re-equipping of the Armelektrokondensator Association. As long ago as 1986 a state commission, when carrying out a comparative evaluation of the quality of the Yerevan condensers and articles produced by Siemens (the best worldwide models), determined the more progressive parameters of the Yerevan ones. An entire series of condensers without trichlordiphenyl was compared.

**Statement 6 and last.** In late November 1984 the union government made the decision to building in Yerevan a production-engineering complex equipped with modern equipment. There was also a letter from USSR Gosplan concerning this question, as well as coordination with the republic's Council of Ministers, and a determination was made of the construction territory and the cost of construction—4 million rubles. The complex was included in the main administration's Preobrazovatel plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan. Then, without any explanations, the project was canceled from the plan.

Currently the director of the Yerevan Branch is attempting to get the project included in the plan for the 13th Five-Year Plan. Are P. Khachatryan's efforts being crowned by success? How does one break through that silent ministerial wall?

The people at Minelektrotekhprom have been taking too much time to resolve what are basically clear questions that do not require any major capital investments. While the documents were traveling like nomads from one ministerial office to another, there have been three changes of ministers, and now this very important branch in the national economy is headed by O. Anfimov (he was preceded by Antonov, and then Mayorets). The bureaucratic red tape has been in existence for almost 15 years.

And what if the efforts of all the republic's electrical-engineering enterprises are using, what if a single firm or concern is created, and what if this problem, which requires immediate intervention, is resolved on the spot?

The republic's electrical-engineering industry is strong enough to assure the manufacture of the equipment for producing the new condensers and to get rid of the toxic fluid. Or might it be simpler to close down the production in Leninakan? In the name of protecting people's lives and the environment.

5075

**Ecological Conditions 'Tense' in Odessa**  
*18300009b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Aug 88 p 4*

[Article by KOMMUNIST special correspondent Ye. Kolesnikova, Odessa: "By the Bluest in the World..."]

[Text] The beaches at Yurmala have been closed. The Sea of Azov has been ruined by poisoned gases—bathing has been banned on its entire coast in Donetsk Oblast. The sturgeon have died in the Volga, and the editorial office gets telephone calls from excited people who have gone to the lower reaches of the river on vacation. They ask whether it is safe to drink the water in the Volga.

The vacation season is at its height... It is also vacation season in Odessa. Here too the beaches are alternately opened, then closed. However, the experienced local residents bask in the sun, but do not take the risk of splashing in the waves. Who knows what is there in what used to be the tender Black Sea? The Odessans also ask whether they can drink the tap water. A. Sidyachenko, chief physician at the oblast sanitation and epidemiology station, states reassuringly that, on the basis of all the indicators, it corresponds to the GOST that was approved by the USSR Ministry of Health. The answer consoles people, but why should that question have been asked at all?med

The ecological situation in Odessa is tense, and the city authorities are attempting to improve it by acting gradually but inflexibly. The rolled-shapes shop at the PO [Production Association] imeni Dzerzinskiy has been closed; the plant near the port has been banned from dumping its runoff water; the station in the commercial port for purifying ballast water has been remodeled; and purification structures have been activated at the TETs. V. Simonenko, chairman of the city's ispolkom, feels, "In their relations with the inspecting enterprises, the soviets of people's deputies must stand decisively on the side of protecting the environment. The demands must sound like ultimatums."

When a mayor is forced to talk that way, that means that things are really bad. It means that there is nowhere to retreat to.

I repeat that the industrial resort city (doesn't that combination of words sound strange?) has more than enough problems. But whoever I met—the managers or

ordinary citizens—always mentioned in the conversation, in one way or another, two enterprises. An operating one and one that is being planned. The Odessa port plant and the Berezovka Chemical Combine.

For the Odessans, the port plant has been a secret pain about a past that cannot be changed. The Berezovka combine is concern for a future in which the possibility of choice still remains. The port plant was built almost ten years ago. Armand Hammer, the chairman of the board of directors of the American Occidental Petroleum Corporation, which participated in the construction of the plant, stated the situation this way: "We have taken away from you part of the biosphere." You cannot state it any more frankly than that. The construction of the Berezovka combine is only in the planning stage. The technical-economic justification exists, but people already understand that we cannot squander the biosphere.

These two enterprises are linked to one another not only by the fact that they are part of the same department—USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, which, alas, is involved in a dozen of the ecologically most alarming branches. It seems to me that this relationship is deeper. It indicates how people are beginning to wake up, how they are beginning to understand that any production entity exists for their sake, and that they do not exist for the sake of production.

The decision to build the port plant was made secretly, but the plant was erected to the accompaniment of an jubilant fanfare. It was not until years later that it became known that there had been no special reasons for the jubilation. In order to transport here the ammonia (by which, in particular, we are paying for the construction of the plant on a compensatory basis), a pipeline 2500 kilometers long has been stretched across the entire south of the European part of the country, from Togliatti to Odessa. Colleagues at INDUSTRIALNOYE ZAPOROZHYE newspaper have said that in the villages adjacent to the ammonia pipeline there are gas masks in every home. They are to be used in any emergency situation. I do not know how people explain to children why they need gas masks. And I cannot imagine how it is to live in expectation of a gas attack during peacetime.

At the port of Yuzhnyy an increased gas threat is announced when ammonia is being loaded onto the gas tanker, and the loading pipeline is under pressure. The intensive traffic of ships carrying dangerous cargoes creates the potential for emergency situations. And to the extent that the probability exists for the ammonia to be discharged into the environment, it is rightful to consider the port of Yuzhnyy to be a chemically dangerous site. That is the opinion of specialists, port workers, and shipbuilders.

Last year instruments recorded the fact that the concentration of ammonia in the settlement of Grigoryevka exceeded the maximum admissible concentration by a

factor of 25. The residents of the settlements of Grigoryevka and Novyye Belyary who have not yet been resettled from the three-kilometer protective zone write to the party agencies, "We do not want our children to get sick."

Incidentally, there is no need to lay it on thick. Ecologically speaking, the port plant is not the dirtiest chemical enterprise. It's just that there is a nagging question as to whether it is really necessary to have this giant specifically on the shore of the Black Sea. Because we have only one Black Sea, and our vast country is not really so rich in sunbathed southern beaches or in clean, transparent sea water. But... this question is exactly a decade late. For some reason the port plant has become for Odessans a symbol of the previous years of stagnation, a symbol of loud approval accompanied by silent disapproval. We have different times now. And when it was decided to build the next chemical combine not far from Odessa, near the rayon center of Berezovka, people no longer remained silent.

I think that this is explained by the fact that the new and frequently large-scale production entities are attached to old, well-established rayons. The ship is barely able to stay afloat, and yet it is loaded with more and more cargo...

Incidentally, something similar is happening in the area of the Grigoryevka estuary. The port plant is expanding. The nearby enterprises in other ministries are being remodeled and are building up their capacities, without taking too much consideration of the long-term ecological forecast that warns that a critical situation may occur in the northern part of the Odessa Strait. The environmental-protection services and the local agencies of authority are fighting against the pollution of the region, issuing fines, closing down harmful production entities, and demanding that the building of new ones be stopped. This is how the confrontation between the city and the departments arises.

But it is absolutely mandatory to emphasize that in their nonacceptance of the chemical combine the Odessans are by no means guided by their emotions. Some people say that their attitude is, "You can build your chemical industry anywhere you want, so long as it is not here." No, the Odessans realize that without fertilizers (and it is specifically fertilizers that the Berezovka combine is supposed to produce) it is impossible to increase the harvest yield. Therefore the questions that are asked are extremely practical and very concrete. What is the technological scheme for producing the output? What waste products are produced? What is their degree of recycling?

The residents invite the department to participate in a constructive and also, most importantly, frank discussion. No one wants to buy a pig in a poke anymore,

paying for it with a part of the biosphere. More and more people are beginning to realize that if we destroy the biosphere, we are building a house where no one will be able to live.

The Odessans' objections to constructing the chemical combine in their oblast, I repeat, are based on the findings made by scientists and specialists. They are rather extensive and have been studied in detail, and therefore I shall dwell on only the basic ones.

First. The oblast does not have any mineral resources for producing superphosphates. It has been proposed that phosphorites be shipped in from Syria and Jordan. Well, then, might it not be more logical to create joint enterprises there and to process the raw materials locally, receiving the finished output on a compensatory basis? I readdressed this question to S. Dorokhin, deputy minister for the production of mineral fertilizers. Stanislav Yefimovich did not give any reassurances—studies like this are being carried out in the branch, but... our counterparts are not completely happy with the technology and equipment that we can propose. But one cannot fathom the departmental logic: why should the residents of Odessa Oblast accept with gratitude the things that the residents of the developing countries are not happy about?

Second. The ecological situation in the city and the oblast, as has already been mentioned, is tense. The construction of yet another powerful source of pollution, obviously, will not improve that situation. On the contrary, it will lead to the formation of acid rain and to the pollution of the fresh water and the Black Sea.

And, finally, third. It is proposed to build the plant near the Tiligul estuary, where very large reserves of therapeutic mud have been discovered. This deposit is completely unique, not only in the Ukraine, but also for the entire country. The Odessa NII of Resort Science has already isolated on the bank of the estuary two areas where it would be possible to give medical treatment to approximately 400,000 persons annually. In the long run, judging by the specialists' estimates, the creation of a balneological resort here will enable millions of people to get rid of chronic ailments. The building of the chemical plant threatens the estuary with extinction. Should one really squander the national property in this way?

At the present time all the construction plans in the branch undergo interdepartmental ecological study. But are we really to believe that we do not know many examples of how to distinguish between reality and a construction plan? At the port plant, the waste products resulting from the production of carbamide in the first and second stages of ammonia production are twice as great as the amounts stipulated by the construction plan and three times as great as the company guarantees. Is it surprising that the scientists and the public, and the party and soviet administrators in the oblast and the

city, say that it is not desirable to build the Berezovka chemical combine in this area and insist on having a more painstaking, more thorough impact study. Stating it outright, this is an unpleasant surprise for the ministry. But it is scarcely an unexpected one. At a recent meeting between administrators of the timber-chemistry complex and representatives of the mass information media, Minister N. Olshanskiy stated bitterly that the branch has already blown into the wind more than 50 million rubles because it had been necessary, in response to public demands, to close enterprises that were under construction or being planned. But, incidentally, that money that was lost by the branch belongs to all of us.

So isn't it high time to reject the departmental secrets and departmental diktat? Isn't it time to begin to ask people for their opinions before investing funds, rather than after?

At the 19th Party Conference it was emphasized: in order to preclude ecological costs when elaborating major scientific-technical and engineering plans, it is necessary to assure in a real manner the interaction of the social experts and the broad public.

Behind-the-scenes decisions are irreversibly becoming a thing of the past. It is necessary for the departments to learn how to trust the nation, how to carry on a frank and honest dialogue with people.

5075

**Organizational Committee of Popular Front Meets With Republic Writers, Press**  
*18000060a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*30 Sep 88 p 1*

[LATINFORM report: "On the Threshold of the Constituent Assembly"]

[Text] On 29 September, on the premises of the Latvian SSR's Writers Union, the members of the organizational committee of the Constituent Assembly for creating the Popular Front of Latvia (NFL) met with representatives of the republic's mass media system. Chairman of the Latvian SSR's Writers Union, Ya. Peters opened the press conference.

Appearing before the journalists, the participants in the press conference related the primary orientation and results of the preparatory work conducted by them on the threshold of the Constituent Assembly for the Popular Front of Latvia. It was noted that by 20 September, more than 2300 support groups, which include approximately 85 thousand people, had registered in the republic.

During the press conference, workers from radio, television and the press were also informed about the forthcoming peoples' mass demonstration in support of creating a legal state, which is scheduled to be held on 7 October on the Great Stage at International Park.

In closing, the members of the organizational committee answered questions from the journalists.

13450

**Readers Discuss Aspects of Popular Front**  
*18000060b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*25 Sep 88 p 2*

[Letters by A. Laukshteyn, Team Leader of glass manufacturers "Latviyas stikls" Political Department and A. Lagerev, Engineer under the rubric: "Popular Front: Discussion Tribune"]

[Text]

**Is Haste Necessary?**

The idea of creating a Popular Front in our republic has rapidly acquired many supporters. People have seen in this public initiative more of an opportunity than during the stagnant times to display the social activism and actually participate in restructuring.

These days the idea of a popular front is being discussed everywhere. It has already become customary to assert that the fate of restructuring depends on each and every one of us, on what type of contribution we make to the common cause and on how effectively our ideas and suggestions are used. And so it is in this endeavor as well—the broader the scope of the public opinion that is taken into account during the creation of the Popular Front, the more substantial its programs and charter will be and the more responsible its approaches to future activities will be.

Having thrown off our past constraint, now we persistently demand from the party and from the authorities that decisions which are important to the fate of restructuring not be made without the participation of the masses and that they be submitted to nation-wide discussion. This is the democratic way—we declare. But how do we ourselves act?

The Council on the Culture of Creative Unions in Latvia reported that on October 8-9, the Constituent Assembly of the Popular Front would be convened, at which the structure of the organization itself must be formed and its program documents must also be adopted at here at this very same Assembly. But must we really be in such a hurry? After all, there simply is not enough time remaining before the convention to discuss profoundly and comprehensively the scope of activities for such a massive organization as the Popular Front. All opinions and proposal concerning the drafts of the program and

the charter of the Popular Front should be carefully considered and the discussion of them should be truly nation-wide, otherwise the discussion is reduced to a mere formality.

**A. Laukshteyn** (Team Leader of glass manufacturers, Political Department, "Latviyas stikls.")

**I Make a Motion....**

In section I "General Principles," paragraph 4, it is written: "...the Popular Front of Latvia (NFL) shall cooperate closely with the Soviets..." It seems to me that this interpretation is not quite correct. According to the USSR Constitution, the Soviets are the supreme organs of government authority in our society; therefore, to put the NFL and the Soviets on the same level, in my opinion, is incorrect.

In this paragraph the purpose for creating the NFL should have been described more vividly, to wit: "...together with other public organizations to provide the Soviets all conceivable assistance in stabilizing and consolidating the popular masses in the implementation of restructuring, in all of its forms, by conducting organizational and explanatory work."

Paragraph 5 states: "The NFL's activities are based on the principles which are stated in the resolutions of the XIX All-Union Conference of the CPSU, and also in the resolution of the June (1988) expanded plenum of the governing body of the Writers' Union of the Latvian SSR."

This formulation seems to me to be politically incorrect. Regarding the resolution of the expanded plenum of the governing body of the Writers' Union, the following formulation would be more correct: "...taking into account the conclusions and proposals which are stated in the resolution of the plenum of the governing body of the Writers' Union of the Latvian SSR."

In section II "The Democratization of the State and Society," in paragraph 1, where it is stated that the NFL "is prepared to support and assist the deputies which are elected by the people...", the special purpose orientation of the NFL's activities should have been more clearly stated, namely that "the NFL shall support and assist through its energetic activities not only the individual deputies, but the Soviets on the whole as the legal organ of government authority."

In paragraph 2, where the NFL urges the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR to establish a commission which would monitor the legality of government agencies' activities, it seems important to add: "and public organizations."

Paragraph 3 discusses granting the republic the right to veto during the decision of those issues which affect its vital interests. But what if these interests conflict with the interests of the Union? What will happen in such cases?

Next, it discusses the need to grant the republic the right to independently enter into direct relations with other states and international organizations. But as far back as during V.I. Lenin's lifetime, when the status of the union republics was being elaborated, it was stipulate that in matters "of foreign affairs and defense" the Union government would make decisions and carry out contacts with other states.

Paragraph 7 raises the issue concerning the expediency of forming national military units in the republics. It seems to me that the Commander in Chief of the Recipient of the Red Banner Baltic Military District gave a well-reasoned response on the pages of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA to this question.

If this desire is entered into the NFL's program, then it is also necessary to indicate the objective, for what reason, for what kinds of contingencies and in the interest of whom and what is it necessary to create military units belonging to the republics. Our forces are international forces, they are educated in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and friendship of peoples, and according to the common Soviet military doctrine and creating some kind of special military units belonging to the republics is hardly called for by a need to strengthen the national defense. After the conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, national units were retained in certain republics, but they were later abolished because the need for them was not borne out by the realities of life. That is why it is incomprehensible to insist on reviving them.

In section VI "Social Equality and the Humanization of the Social Environment," paragraph 5 discusses the pressing and urgent requirement to provide modern, well-equipped apartments, nursery schools and other social amenities to the native inhabitants of the republic. Only it is unclear who would fall in this category. Who is considered a native inhabitant of the republic? In this area there must not be a national approach, but one which is socially equitable and objective for all inhabitants of the republic regardless of their respective nationality. That is why we should not talk about "the native inhabitants," but about all inhabitants of Latvia, who have a legal right to receive housing from the state without being separated into "national" and "non-national" residents.

I doubt that the thesis concerning this issue, which is stated in the draft program of the NFL, will promote an improvement in the relations between the various national groups.

A. Lagerev, Engineer

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### Life of Ethnic Tajik Citizens of Uzbekistan

#### Highlighted

18300004a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
11 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by V. Mizhiritskiy, correspondent of Novosti Press Agency: "In the Family of Fraternal Peoples: How the Tajiks Live in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] The Ivanovo Sovkhoz of Khavatskiy Rayon of Uzbekistan and the Navkoram ("Novosti") Sovkhoz of Zafarabadskiy Rayon of Tajikistan are neighbors. They are divided by the highway along which runs the border between the Central Asian republics. On the highway from Uzbekistan to Tajikistan travel machines for cotton-growing, excavators, and fertilizers, and from Tajikistan to Uzbekistan—aluminum, oil, cement, and lacquer and paint products. The Bukhara-Fergana Gas Pipeline supplies the Tajik SSR with natural gas; from the canal built on the territory of Uzbekistan, the water of the Syrdarya finds its way to the fields of Tajik farms, including also in "Navkoram."

"Our republics are closely connected not only economically," says the Tajik woman deputy of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Darikha Abdullayeva. "There are stronger bonds: Uzbeks and Tajiks have lived side by side for centuries; the culture, customs and traditions of the peoples are similar in many respects. Intermarriages among the nationalities in our part of the world are a mass phenomenon. One can cite quite a few examples of genuine friendship among our peoples. Here are only two. The Zafarabadskiy Rayon of the Tajik SSR, which is experiencing a shortage of areas under crops, was created 35 years ago on lands belonging previously to Uzbekistan. The decision concerning the transfer of 50,500 hectares to the neighboring republic was taken by the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet. And in 1966, when a serious earthquake occurred in Tashkent, the first who came to help the Uzbek people were the Tajiks."

More than a million Uzbeks now live in Tajikistan—which comes to every fourth inhabitant of the republic, and in Uzbekistan with a population of 20 million, Tajiks number about 700,000, according to the latest data.

The Constitution of the Uzbek Republic guarantees to all citizens, regardless of the nationality to which they belong, equal rights in all spheres of life. To what extent do the Tajiks enjoy this guarantee? Abdullayeva cites the following facts. Twelve Tajiks have been elected as deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and more than 4,000 are deputies of local Soviets. Five Tajiks represented among other delegates the Communist Party of Uzbekistan at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. More than 2,000 are engaged in executive work in various spheres of the national economy.

The Tajik Davron Akhrarov was elected as the chairman of the Gorispolkom of Samarkand, the second largest city of Uzbekistan. Another one of his compatriots is the chairman of the ispolkom of the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in Kirovskiy Rayon—one of the largest in Tashkent. In Uzbekistan there are schools in which instruction is conducted in the Tajik language, and 99,000 pupils are studying in them. The teachers for these schools are trained in the university and in the Pedagogical Institute of Samarkand. The republic newspaper KHAKIKATI UZBEKISTON is published in the Tajik language, and the republic radio and the radio committees in Fergana, Bukhara, and Samarkand oblasts are conducting broadcasts in Tajik. The Tajiks living in Tashkent and in Tashkent and Samarkand oblasts have the possibility, thanks to retransmission, to receive programs of Tajik television from Dushanbe.

But it must also be stated that in the recent past, when they started to hush up problems and preferred to talk about successes, a number of violations in nationality policy were permitted. In the issuing of passports, for example, some bureaucrats registered Tajiks as Uzbeks and reduced the number of schools with Tajik language instruction. The cultural needs of the Tajik population were inadequately satisfied, in particular with respect to the supply of periodical literature and belles-lettres. The protectionism that flourished under the previous leadership of the republic prevented the advancement in work of representatives of the non-indigenous nationality.

The positive changes that are taking place in Soviet society today found reflection in the solution of the nationality problems, and the Tajik minority of the UzSSR is already beginning to feel this. Not long ago, the Uzbek CP Central Committee adopted a special resolution, in which a number of important measures in the interests of the Tajik population were noted. In particular, it is proposed to increase the volume of television and radio broadcasts in the Tajik language, especially in the regions where there is a dense Tajik population.

An agreement has been reached with Tajikistan about the regular exchange of books, exhibits, plays, and television programs. In the Union of Writers of Uzbekistan, a section of Tajik literature has been formed. The number of schools with Tajik language instruction is being expanded. Already beginning with the current year, Tajiks enrolling in the VUZes of Samarkand and Bukhara, are sit for entrance examinations in their native language. There has been an increase in the admission of students into the Department of Tajik Philology of Samarkand University.

### Resettlement of Meskheti Turks in Uzbekistan

#### Recalled

18300004b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88  
p 3

[Article by G. Dimov, Izvestiya's own correspondent, Tashkent Oblast: "A Bridge Through the Years: Meetings in the Streets of the Small Town of Pskent"]

[Text] An hour's drive from Taskkent, the water reservoir which they call here the Tashkent Sea, and after it—Pskent. Not long ago, archaeologists excavated: A small town older in terms of age, it seems, than Tashkent, almost of the same age as Samarkand. The age-old land of the Uzbeks, in its steppe part—of the Kazakhs. But along the road to the rayon center one can also see the sign: "Andreyevka." The village is about 100 years old.

The small nationalities living in the rayon—without them Pskent would already not be Pskent—God grant, also have pedigree. But one can speak about the time of their residence here with precision to the month—in the case of one of them 44 years, in the case of another 43 and a half years.

I want to talk about the Meskheti Turks. In the first branch of the Pskent Sovkhoz where I arrived, they are almost every fourth family. Thus their small town on the bank of the Tashkent Canal is called Turkaul.

Why "Meskheti" Turks? They are from Meskheti—a group of rayons in the south of Georgia adjacent to the Turkish frontier. Today one can encounter them throughout the entire northern region of Central Asia, Southern Kazakhstan, Kabardino-Balkariya, and Azerbaijan, but most of them—about 50,000 people according to the past census—are found in Uzbekistan, and about half live in Tashkent Oblast.

I chanced to be a witness of how at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 they were accepted here. Not, I will say, with open sympathy, but in a humanly compassionate manner. By this time, Uzbekistan was already sending home up to half a million people evacuated here from the front-line regions during the first 2 years of the war. The housing situation was easing slightly. And here, at the end of May 1944, a new wave of arrivals was imminent: Special settlers from the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus, and after half a year—from Georgia.

Experienced vegetable-growers and herdsmen, as, by the way, the Crimean Tatars, Kurds and others among the nationalities of the Caucasus and Transcaucasus exiled administratively to Central Asia, the Turks went to construction sites and into plants; in the village—into gardens and kitchen-gardens, but the majority of them turned out to be in a sector of the economy that was new to them—cotton production. They had to master it, too.

Already in 1958, only in the fourth year after a rayon special commandant's office had been closed, and the humiliating obligation of the settlers to register in it once every 2 weeks had become a thing of the past, among the Uzbek masters of cotton-growing proposed for the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, there proved to be 19-year old Turkish woman from Bukinskiy Rayon, Saodat Gul-yakhmedova. And Dzhavat Kuchiiev, a machine operator from the Malek Sovkhoz of Syr-Darya Oblast, now the chairman of a kolkhoz, together with scientists and designers, was awarded the Lenin Prize for the development and introduction of a new cotton picker.

Many Meskheti Turks have considered themselves as locals for a long time. You see, even those who were born here have succeeded in becoming grandmothers and grandfathers. They live and work like all in the republic. And the respect for them is no smaller than for the representatives of the native or any other nationality. In the same Pskent, they include a director, chief specialists, secretary of the party committee of an enterprise, 5 deputies in the Rayon Soviet, and 28—in Kishlak Soviets.

About their experience, these people judge differently. The majority—calmly and sensibly. But there are also those who are ready to accuse anyone you like of being responsible for what happened to them, only not. . . .

"There is no need to lay it on 'him,'" I heard repeatedly. "He was not the one who signed the decree."

But what to do with the truth?

Tashtan Gaydarovich Pipinadze, in whose comfortable home on the bank of the Tashkent Canal we are now sitting, was called up into the army as a 20-year old lad from the border village of Charchva. This was in 1939. The term of his service had already ended, but the war began. His first battle lwith the Germans he took at the end of 1941 in the environs of Taganrog, he had his last battle in 1945 in north of Germany. Throughout the war, letters from home came punctually. But at the end of 1944 they suddenly no longer came.

Pipinadze already found his relatives here, in Uzbekistan, in Pskent. All, fortunately, in good health: Mother, father, brothers and sisters.

You really do not hide the truth, no matter how much someone may wish to do so and no matter how bitter it might be. And there is a bitter taste here—beyond any measure: Already at the outset of the victorious war, it was decided to exile this entire people as far as possible from its native soil. Why and for what—no explanations.

"Say thank you again," the countryman and father of the son-in-law of Pipinadze, the brigade leader Rubil Gasanov chuckled, "from the Abastumanskiy Kolkhoz imeni Stalina the 'father of the peoples' sent you to a Pskent kolkhoz—also called Kolkhoz imeni Stalina."

How did things go for Tashtan Gaydarovich go then? He took off his overcoat, rolled up his sleeves, one had to live and work. After a year he was already a brigade leader. In a neighboring rayon he soon met his Nigara. They were married and raised seven children ("three daughters finished school with gold medals"), they earned honors through work ("in 1961 I was the first in the district to be allotted a 'Volga'"), a good reputation ("they wrote about me in the paper, the rayon newspaper quite recently devoted a whole page to me"), social position ("they elected me three times as deputy, member of the party committee"), and to his military decorations were added two Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, medals for labor and for holidays.

Not long ago, he went into retirement—only after he hit 40 years in the post of brigade leader, and before this, last year, he travelled to Meskheti and tracked down the graves of his forefathers. He remembered his fellow-students—from among his Charchva friends, 99 did not return from the front, and he could have been the 100th: An errant bullet, but it missed him. . . .

"What can I say about my journey," he reflects. "I went and I came back. Many act the same. I am convinced: One or two out of ten want to leave completely. We have already grown up in the land here. Here the language, and the customs, and the script in the primer are similar, for believers the religion is the same. Another matter, every man must know that, besides his general great Homeland, he also has his little one—someone has it here, someone has it in Meskheti, and at any moment, whenever he wants, he can go there. And how did it come out with me? They did not want to let me go to Charchva. Was it really because I am a Meskheti Turk?"

Indeed—why? For a long time already, according to government documents, Turks, like all citizens of our country, are not "special settlers," but equal toilers. Restrictions on the basis of national or any other bases on entrance into a border zone have also not existed for a long time. But the whole trouble lies in this general callous procedure of formalizing a permit for it—a summons is absolutely necessary, to make it for Pipinadze to Charchva to somebody, it took 2 months of running back and forth and of requests.

I will mention in passing that in the Sovkhoz imeni Engels in the environs of Yangiyul, these efforts of a group of Turks did not lead to anything at all, although their need for a trip to Meskheti was even more acute: The people already had to register for their pension, but they still not have passports, the reason being that it proved to be utterly impossible to obtain birth-certificates from the place of birth or archive certificates through the registration office.

The brigade leader Rubil Gasanov and Tashtan Pipinadze are countrymen. The first is from Abastumani, the second, as has already been said, from Charchva. The

father of the first—the in the 1930's in Georgia well-known chairman of the Gaib Gasanov Kolkhoz (in 1980, 2 years before he died, he was awarded, in Pskent, the badge "50 Years in the CPSU"—knew very well Gaydar Pipinadze, the herdsman who was no less popular in Akhaltsikhe. Both of them are already resting in the soil here, but their children, already in the third generation now, have found themselves to be related. The daughter of Rubil, a teacher, is married to the son of Tashtan, the director of the rayon House of Culture.

"Judge for yourself," Gasanov joins the conversation. "We came here with a large family. But this was one family. Now there are twenty families of Gasanovs alone, twenty houses with farmsteads. The very concept of house and farmstead is changing. Two Meskheti Turks from our section have already taken land on lease, for a long term, their experiment has been approved by the republic. I am also thinking about taking such a step. On this land, the son-in-law's father is right, we have already grown up. Where will we move from this place? But there are those who want to leave, though only one out of ten. And let them go. And thus what we get is—superfluous talk.

My interlocutors themselves cited examples: "Three years ago, a man left—he has returned." Or: "Two years since he left for Georgia, he writes: he already has his own 2-story house." Thus, whoever wants to go goes. Then where is the problem?

Of course, I knew that there are also other attitudes among the representatives of this small nationality, that there are people among them whose resentment has by no means died down and is singing their hearts, nourishing the feeling of impatience and sometimes distrust in the words to the effect that the reality of today also cannot be dropped from the calculations. People are people, however many of them—that is how many opinions, views and positions there are. And nevertheless the Meskheti Turks, passionate, as all southerners, by temper, are becoming, one should give them their due, very reasonable when the question concerns any national borders.

"To call together a meeting is a simple thing," an elderly Turk from Alimkent, who was talking with me, reflected. "But with respect to what business? To allow ourselves to be carried away by those in whom the passions have overthrown reason? We do not allow this among ourselves. We must look forward, and not backward."

"Three of my brothers and sons," Pipinadze says, "are registered by the family name of the Gaydarovs, the brothers—according to the father, the son—according to the grandfather. But I also remember the great-great-grandfather, he was 120 years old. He lived during the time of Pushkin. Our forefather spoke only Georgian. And the Meskheti Turks are Georgians, they were simply Turkified during the occupation. Why should I not preserve my family name?"

"Preserve as you please, father-in-law," Gasanov smiles. "But we are nevertheless Turks."

Behind the innocent family squabble there is still one more problem. The brother of Gasanov was the director of a school, he decided to open classes with instruction in the Turkish language. To let their children go to such classes, no one among the parents wanted to do. The general meeting in the Sovkhoz imeni Engels unanimously spoke out in favor of instruction in their school in the Russian language—the Turkish and Uzbek languages, and they have the same roots, are well assimilated in the families. Meanwhile, in letters that are received in the local directive organs from other communities, the requests are different: In some—to study Uzbek in terms of the basic program, in others—Turkish.

The selection of the language of instruction is a voluntary matter. All that is necessary is to survey the communities and then to arrange the instruction as people wish. Is it really impossible for everyone to solve their tasks within the framework of the situation that has developed? Moreover, the tasks at times are very simple ones. Here are examples.

Without Uzbek pilaff, the house of a Meskhetin Turk today is no house. As also without dolma, khinkali, and khachapuri. The national cuisine of the Caucasian Turks in the land where they currently live has not become impoverished, if not to say—has become richer. The "gapa" ritual is strictly observed—of gatherings for men and women. But usually this is only at home.

Where in places of the concentrated residence of Turks, not to speak of the oblast centers here, are there cafes offering national dishes? Someone longs for corn bread—why not arrange for the production of such flour? In the hot climate of Central Asia without green tea—it is no life. But is it bad if in the same Pskent or Yangiyul, in addition to other spots of public catering, a Turkish coffee house is opened—there would be no retreat.

In the Sovkhoz imeni Engels, from the musicians who have served weddings, the Orzu Ensemble came into being. The Ispolkom of the Yangiyulskiy Rayon Soviet helped to acquire instruments for it and to sow national costumes. Now the ensemble is a welcome guest, not only in its own district, but it travels beyond the bounds of the republic and performs on television. Not long ago, such an ensemble appeared also in the Pskent Sovkhoz imeni XXVI partseyzd.

Kholis Dovrishev, the director of the same Sovkhoz imeni Engels, where, incidentally, there are almost a thousand hectares of vineyards and gardens, and the entire population consists of Meskheti Turks, meanwhile is nurturing a plan: On the basis of a movie-house (the cinema circuit is against, but there is hope that the Raysoviet will be supportive) to create a club with a

theatrical collective, there are already proposals to adapt for stage "Ashig Kerib" and "Shakhsanem", and to write one- and two-act plays on contemporary subjects.

Good intentions—would that they be quickly realized. But, you see, the conditions have completely ripened for a wider step—to create in the same Tashkent and in several oblast centers national-cultural centers of Turks, Crimean Tatars, and that is not all.

People have the desire to have newspapers, along with periodicals in the Russian and Uzbek languages—why not think about this? About television and radio programs in Turkish, as, however, also in the Crimean-Tatar and Korean languages?

I spent the day walking through the Tashkent museums: Of the history of nations, the history of the Komsomol, folk art, decorative and applied art, literature, and, finally, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR—not in one of them are there exhibitions devoted to the Koreans, the Crimean Tatars, and the Turks living here for almost half a century. Why?

Many similar "why's" arise today. And you cannot escape anywhere from the search for answers to them. The 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, too, resolutely came out in favor of such a search. To conduct it calmly and persistently, prudently and wisely—means to prepare properly for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the problems of inter-nationality relations.

8970

### Industrial Sprawl Occurring in Kanev Area

#### Readers Protest Threat to Ukrainian Cultural Mecca

18110002 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
22 Sep 88 p 2

[Article, published under the rubric "The Reader Continues the Conversation," by V. Krasnodemskiy: "Giving Kanev the Status of a Protected Site: We Discuss Borys Oliynyk's Article 'Do They Know What They Are Doing?'"]

[Text]

#### "I Am Writing Because I Cannot Remain Silent"

"Although you will not publish my comments, nevertheless I am writing to you. I am writing because I cannot remain silent," begins a letter which the editors received from pensioner F. Osiyik. Our correspondent from the Volyn village of Stara Vyzhivka, just as many other readers of RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, was deeply alarmed at the news that Tarasova Hill in Kanev is being undercut and washed away by the Dnieper and that industrial construction is in progress on the left bank of the Slavytch, not far from the resting place of a great

son of the Ukrainian people. "After reading B. Oliynyk's article entitled 'Do They Know What They Are Doing?', as well as the article by the custodians of the Shevchenko Memorial, entitled 'Let Us Respect Our Sacred Sites,'" our Volyn correspondent continues, "I would like to express via this newspaper my anger and indignation at the aggressive technocrats who are attempting at all costs to carry out their own narrow, parochial-interest ministerial projects. What do they care about the Kanev sacred site, about our spiritual and intellectual riches, about our people, our history and culture? Their sole concern is reporting a project completed on schedule, receiving bonuses, promotions, and government decorations! And they are not concerned in the slightest about the negative consequences for the history and culture of our people."

This Volyn pensioner is perhaps too categorical and outspoken in his judgments, for he gives way to his own emotions, but you can't fault his openness and honesty. After all, we are talking about a sacred site for every person who has respect and veneration for his own history and culture. It is for this reason that there has been such broad reader response to the above-mentioned article by Borys Oliynyk and the reader response articles entitled "Giving Kanev the Status of a Protected Site!"

"It is apparent from the official response by the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises that without legislative bodies the voice of reason will be unable to halt the bureaucratic machine which has set about to destroy Tarasova Hill," writes disturbed and concerned teacher V. Brusak on behalf of his fellow teachers in the village of Hirske, in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. "And the fact is that this encroachment on a site which is sacred to our people is being made allegedly in the name of national prestige and for the good of the people. Well, these are familiar motifs from the recent Brezhnev period of stagnation: essentially we are robbing the people but claiming to be concerned about the good of the people. This official response evokes alarm, for it presages nothing good or constructive. For this reason we ask the editors to continue to inform their readers on what is being done to save Tarasova Hill in the spirit of his 'Testament.' We hope that at this distressing time the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will also speak up. They alone, resting on the support of the people, can turn back the technocratic assault on Tarasova Hill in Kanev, a spiritual and intellectual sacred site for every person in this country."

Responses from V. Vovk in the village of Parafiyivka in Chernigov Oblast and pensioner Yu. Martynenko from Kiev are in consonance with the letter from the village teacher. In particular, the latter notes that "it will be a great historical disgrace to all of us if this literary Chernobyl takes place in the Ukraine."

As for the government agencies which have commenced industrial construction on the left bank of the Dnieper near Kanev, their position is known from official

responses which have appeared in this newspaper. In particular, administrative officials at the production-outfitting facility of the Zarubezhenergostroymontazh Production Association, which is located in Kanev, maintain that the appearance of new enterprises on the left bank of the Dnieper will make it possible to strengthen the city's public facilities, services and amenities, which are not in particularly good shape.

We do not deny the validity of this statement, for Kanev is today faced with many social and provision-of-services problems which the local authorities are unable to resolve without assistance at the present time. A letter from Kanev resident V. Korniyenko provides further convincing argument. "Come to Kanev," Volodymir Mykolayovych suggests. "Walk around town a bit, spend some time with us, and you will hear and see a great deal, like how they are chopping down a preserve-status forest, how they are destroying parks established by the townspeople, how and where they are building housing.... The fact that the people of Kanev, who are living practically on the banks of the Dnieper, do not have enough water. The fact that they frequently are freezing in their apartments, plus a great many other things."

It would seem that, aware of the social and services advantages being promised to the residents of Kanev by the government agencies which have undertaken industrial construction projects in the vicinity of Tarasova Hill, our reader would vote wholeheartedly for industrial development, because both water and heat are in short supply, there are problems with personal services facilities, and the waiting list for housing is still quite long.... But they do not! "I offer thanks to everybody who has responded to the appeal by Borys Oliynyk, to all those who show urgent concern for Kanev!" writes Volodymyr Mykolayovych. A paradox, is it not? But only at first glance, for every educated and cultured person must have not only a roof over his head and a bakery across the road but must also have sacred cultural landmarks and places of spiritual expiatory purification. And the temple must exist before building a paved roadway to it. And first and foremost—in our lucre-undisturbed souls, in our deeds and thoughts, for the most fearful emptiness is spiritual emptiness, and no material acquisitions can fill that emptiness.

Yes, the country certainly needs new industrial equipment for building thermal electric power stations, and Kanev needs utility lines and housing. But Mikhaylovskoye, Yasnaya Polyana, and Tarasova Hill are no less needed, for failure to remember and being out of touch with the people and its spiritual and intellectual wellsprings lead to sated bourgeois poverty and to spiritual erosion.

There is no question whatsoever: it is necessary to concern oneself with the prestige of our power engineering construction people abroad, and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification is certainly handling this task, but why should Tarasova Hill, which has become a sacred site for our people and a mecca for tourists from many countries throughout the world, suffer because of this?

The question of expanding the industrial zone hard by Shevchenko's grave is certainly a sharp, burning issue. Not one letter to the editors on this issue has been devoid of emotions. Sometimes these emotions literally overflow, and even in some respects "overshadow" the logical presentation of the author's reasoning. And this is not hard to understand, for it is incredibly difficult to talk calmly and unctioously about something which is causing pain. But when in the letters of some readers, as we see in the responses of A. Shklyarenko from Chernigov or Yaroshenko (the author did not provide his first name) from Zhdanov, there is an outpouring of open animosity toward... Russians residing on the territory of our republic, that is another thing altogether, for if you read their letters more carefully, the thought immediately suggests itself that the hand of these authors was led not by sincere concern over the fate of Ukrainian culture but primarily by the desire to trouble the waters, to sow seeds of enmity between two brother peoples. And such readers are completely unable (or unwilling) to grasp the most important point: that which is presently taking place on the left bank of the Dnieper by Kanev is just one more bitter fruit of the technocrats, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, who are unaccustomed to consulting the people, who are primarily concerned with their own ministerial interests. And they have done this not only at Kanev but also on the shores of Lake Baykal and in the vicinity of Yasnaya Polyana.... Therefore, as you see, one should not confuse the sinful with the righteous, for such "one-sided logic" leads, to put it mildly, to negative emotions and erroneous conclusions.

"I am writing because I cannot remain silent"—nowadays we frequently encounter these words in letters from readers in response to articles contained in our newspaper dealing with the "Kanev affair." In my opinion this reader awareness rather clearly shows one more positive trend of the period of perestroyka. It is becoming quite obvious that people no longer wish to play the role of silent weather vanes, which swing only in the direction of the breeze blowing from the offices of officialdom.

Encouraged by the winds of perestroyka, they want their thoughts to be noticed and their voice to be heeded.

#### **Cherkassy Oblast Executive Committee Relates Official Concern**

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[Article, published under the rubric "In Response to RADYANSKA UKRAYINA Article," by O. Dubovyy, first deputy chairman, Cherkassy Oblast Executive Committee: "Left Bank—Right Bank"]

[Text] B. Oliynyk's article addresses the exceptionally important and crucial issue of preserving the picturesque natural landscape on the left bank of the Dnieper by

Kanев, located within the panoramic vista seen from Tarasova Hill and the T. H. Shevchenko museum and historic landmark, and in connection with this the article addresses in a frank manner the question of whether further development of the haphazardly-constructed industrial zone on the left bank, established during the period of construction of the Kanев Hydroelectric Power Station, should be permitted.

In the course of recent decades the socioeconomic development of the city of Kanев—a Shevchenko memorial and historic-cultural center of republic-level stature, which has the status of a historic site—has been determined primarily by development of the power complex of the earlier-constructed GES and initiated construction of the Kanев GAES. The fact that the urban development base is not in keeping with the character of a historic site has inevitably complicated the city's growth and development.

A warehouse complex and freight transfer terminal for construction of the GES was built on the left bank, clustered on an industrial rail spur, as well as industrial, food supply and fuel storage facilities for the city and rayon.

Taking note of dissatisfaction over negative consequences arising in connection with construction of the GES, the haphazard nature of the industrial warehouse and storage facilities, erosion of the Dnieper's banks by Tarasova Hill on the approaches to the T. H. Shevchenko Museum and Historic Site, the oblast executive committee did considerable organizational work pertaining to reinforcing the banks, designing and building an embankment running between the city and the museum-historic site.

In 1977 a unique memorial landscape-architectural complex of steps leading up Tarasova Hill was built, with a lower and an upper park, with fountains and a visitors' landing. Aware of the need to institute procedures to protect historical and cultural landmarks, the historical and natural landscape of Shevchenko memorial sites, the oblast executive committee took measures to ensure scientific elaboration and approval of protected zones for regulation and control of construction and preservation of the scenic landscape of the city of Kanev and the villages of Moryntsi and Shevchenkove.

Currently on the agenda is the matter of regulating construction development of the left-bank industrial zone located 2.5-4 kilometers from Tarasova Hill, and execution of an aggregate of nature conservation measures, a project of substantial size, which will make it possible to protect the left bank against erosion and collapse. These sites must be properly graded, landscaped and planted in greenery, and the ecological environment must be improved. Toward this end the Kiev Promstroyprojekt territorial institute has drawn up a

general plan for the left-bank industrial zone which provides for some expansion of this zone at the expense of the Zarubezhenergostroymontazh and Soyuzpodvodtruboprovodstroy enterprises, which are to function as clients and contractors in carrying out environmental protection measures, taking into account the requirements of the approved Kanев scenic landscape zone which is to be protected.

While this general plan was being drawn up, the oblast executive committee denied approval of construction of a porous concrete and silicate brick plant in the industrial zone and ruled that construction of a grain elevator was undesirable. Construction in this zone of a new freight transfer terminal for the Kanev GAES had previously been denied approval.

Proper approval of the left-bank industrial zone development plan was obtained from the appropriate republic organizations, with the exception of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, which expressed doubts, after examining the project plans, about the possibility of carrying out the prescribed nature preservation measures and the requirement that natural landscape cover be provided on the Tarasova Hill side of industrial structures. The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature petitioned Ukrainian SSR Gosstroy (No 9-7-249, dated 1 June 1988) to examine the plans, with the extensive participation of appropriate government and public organizations. Pursuant to instructions issued by Ukrainian SSR Gosstroy (No 14-5/8-19, dated 8 July 1988), on 16 August 1988 the oblast executive committee conducted in the city of Kanев a commission review of the question of the advisability of development of the left-bank industrial zone located in the Tarasova Hill scenic landscape zone, with the participation of representatives of interested republic, oblast, and municipal agencies and public organizations.

The commission, consisting of 21 representatives, examined the industrial zone plan and took an on-the-spot familiarization tour to determine the current status of construction development and the degree to which it affects the view from Tarasova Hill, as well as the status of provision of services. The commission was unable to reach a final decision, however, since representatives from Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, the Union of Writers of the Ukraine and Union of Architects of the Ukraine, as well as representatives from the Kiev NDIPIgradostroitelstvo Institute, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Culture, and the republic Society to Protect Historical and Cultural Landmarks, although invited by the oblast executive committee (No 50/01, dated 9 August 1988), failed to take part in the commission proceedings.

In connection with this, the oblast executive committee considers it necessary to reexamine this question and reach a well-substantiated decision. And it would be advisable to discuss, with the participation of Ukrainian

SSR Gosplan, the question of possible phase-by-phase transfer of industrial and warehouse enterprises and facilities from the left bank to the city's right-bank industrial zone, where construction has begun on a GAES freight transfer terminal, and of construction of a rail line across the GES dam to that location. This plan variation should be specified on the basis of the completed general plan for the right-bank industrial zone, corrections and adjustments to which should be contracted by Ukrainian SSR Gosstroy to the Kiev Promstroyprojekt Institute, on the condition of prior

approval of the economic feasibility of its implementation by Ukrainian SSR Gosplan. This would also provide a realistic possibility of reaching an appropriate decision pertaining to establishment of a Kanev National Park, as proposed by the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation.

The editors will be subsequently informed on final resolution of this matter.

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